STUDIES IN BIBLICAL PARALLELISM

PART I.
PARALLELISM IN AMOS

BY

LOUIS I. NEWMAN

PART II.
PARALLELISM IN ISAIAH, CHAPTERS 1-10

BY

WILLIAM POPPER

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PUBLICATIONS.

Note.—The University of California Publications are offered in exchange for the publications of learned societies and institutions, universities and libraries. Complete lists of all the publications of the University will be sent upon request. For sample copies, lists of publications or other information, address the MANAGER OF THE UNIVERSITY PRESS, BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA, U. S. A. All matter sent in exchange should be addressed to THE EXCHANGE DEPARTMENT, UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA, U. S. A.

For the series in Semitic Philology, Vol. 2 and following, address Late E. J. BRILL, Ltd., Leiden.

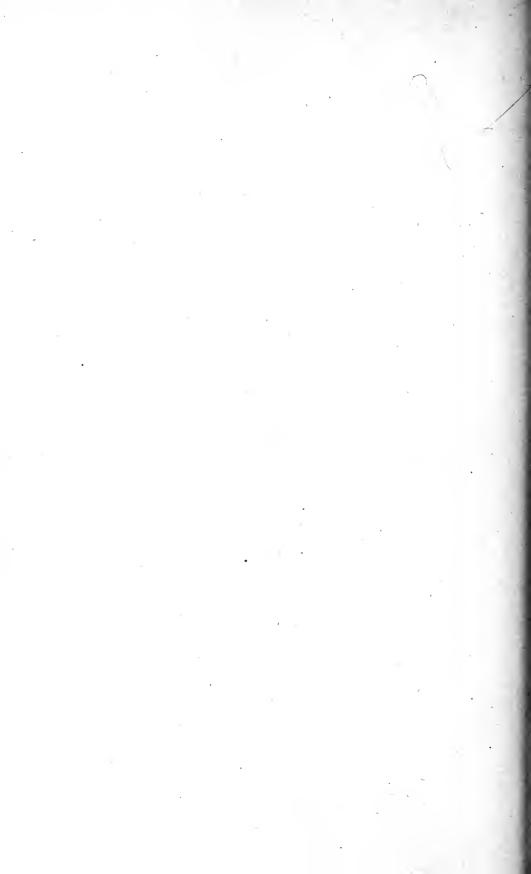# STUDIES IN BIBLICAL PARALLELISM

PART I.
PARALLELISM IN AMOS

BY

LOUIS I. NEWMAN

PART II.
PARALLELISM IN ISAIAH, Chapters 1-10

BY

WILLIAM POPPER

FOREWORD

The studies presented in these pages are in great measure the result of work done in the University of California in the year 1915–16. They were prompted in the first instance by a desire to arrange for class-room work a suitable text-book with which to introduce students of Hebrew to the prophetic literature. Surely students of no other language must work with texts as full of difficulties as is the most of that literature. Courses in the Prophets often consist mainly of lectures by the instructor offering explanations of linguistic and stylistic abnormalities; so loud is the creaking of the critical apparatus that the student is constantly distracted from any literary appreciation of the text itself. It seemed to me that in preparing a text for students the editor should not only remove those evident errors which even conservative critics admit and which are easily rectified, but he should also wherever there is a great difficulty and a fairly strong presumption of error boldly adopt some satisfactory emendation. It is generally possible to find another and clearer passage in the literature treating of the same subject as does the suspicious passage, expressing what is evidently its intended thought, and offering a basis for emendation in a spirit which the editor can feel sure does no violence to the ancient Hebrew.

After such a treatment of the text of Isaiah had been begun it became evident that whether that prophet regularly delivered his oracles in parallelism or not, the clear preponderance of parallelistic structure therein must preclude the acceptance of any emendation which does not retain or reëstablish such a structure. It became clear also that the greatest difficulties in the present text are found just where the parallelism is defective. It seemed a worthy task, therefore, to go further into the subject; reëxamine some considerable portion of prophetic literature from this standpoint; consistently apply the test of parallelism to every passage therein, and along the lines suggested by that test seek

some solution for every problem, however difficult. Accordingly while I was myself working at the text of Isaiah, Amos was chosen for a similar study by the Hebrew seminar. The text was analyzed, certain problems were formulated, and a method of possible solution was suggested.

Mr. Newman's article in its first form contained his answers to the questions raised; later it was expanded into a thesis presented for the degree of Master of Arts from this University, though for its final draft Mr. Newman gathered material while he was a student at Columbia University. After his study was almost completed several modifications were made on the basis of George Buchanan Gray's *Forms of Hebrew Poetry;* a reading of this book, however, did not affect Mr. Newman's results materially, except where indicated; its main influence was in the adoption of Gray's system of symbols for the schematization of the parallelism.

While in Mr. Newman's Amos studies the material has been classified by types, in my paper the first five chapters of Isaiah have been studied verse by verse, the Authorized English translation given at the head of each paragraph or stanza discussion, the nature of the parallelism pointed out, and one or several emendations suggested wherever the parallelism either is itself defective or indicates other stylistic defects. In chapters 6–10 only those passages have been treated which are apparently defective or otherwise call for special comment; the parallelism of the remaining portions will be recognized upon reference to the translation of the reconstructed text.

In not a few cases in both the Amos and the Isaiah studies the proposed solution involves a transposition of words and phrases; and as in a recent article in the *Journal of Biblical Literature,* XXXVI (1917), p. 63, dealing with the Book of Hosea, objection is apparently raised to such transpositions in general, a word in justification of this principle of emendation should be said. The copyist of Oriental manuscripts, however careful he may be, sometimes omits not only letters and words, but also phrases and whole sentences; and a later copyist then inserts such marginal or interlinear passages, sometimes in the

wrong place. Moreover, authors themselves sometimes make such corrections and insertions in their own manuscripts, as well as in the manuscripts of other authors (so the Arabic chronicler Ibn Taghri Birdi narrates); I have worked with an Arabic autographic manuscript in which considerable study was sometimes necessary to determine where such insertions were intended to be placed; and different manuscripts of the same Arabic poem show a variation in the order of lines (for example, see the *University of California Publications in Semitic Philology*, II, 20). In the several hundred years that elapsed between the delivery of the prophecies of Amos and Isaiah and the date at which the written word came to be venerated and the text fixed—centuries which saw a change not only in the form of the alphabet used by the Hebrews but also in the language of their daily speech—it is hard to believe that the manuscripts of those prophecies did not suffer the same vicissitudes which other manuscripts suffered at a much later epoch and in a much shorter space of time. The reader's attention is called particularly to Isaiah 7.8; if he does not believe that this verse has been edited into the text, and at the wrong place—that even if it be retained, it must be transposed—he will have little sympathy for many passages in these studies; but if he accepts the transposition, he must admit the probability of a similar solution in places where form and sense of the text are even more obscure and can be improved thereby. As for the transposition of whole sections from their present sequence, this much is certain: Isaiah did not write his prophecies in the order in which they have been handed down; for if he had done so, the sixth chapter would stand first in the book. Quite probably the prophecies were first written on different pieces of whatever writing material was used and were arranged later, as was the case with the Koran; and there can at least be no objection to transposing chapters into chronological sequence, or any other sequence which helps in an appreciation of the contents. Furthermore, since chapter divisions are known to be late, we may disregard them also in the transposition of sections where internal evidence warrants the change.

[v]

The question of successive editions of prophetic literature has been raised several times in the paper on Amos. In studying Isaiah I have touched upon this question but rarely, since in most cases it does not affect the question of parallelism. After an even larger portion of Isaiah has been examined, it will be of interest to determine whether supposed differences of authorship coincide with variations in the nature of the parallelism. Mr. Newman's conclusion that Amos almost invariably uses the couplet structure in parallelism, and my own conclusion that it is possible to find many variations from this simple structure in Isaiah, suggest that there may have been individual preferences in this matter on the part of the Hebrew writers.

My purpose of letting the laws of parallelism suggest emendations has induced me to neglect as far as possible emendations suggested by others; this was not possible, however, in the case of those suggestions recorded in the frequently consulted Brown-Driver-Briggs lexicon; no doubt others of my emendations, also, were in reality due to my previous readings on the subject, and I beg to be pardoned for not tracing them to their sources and for not giving credit where credit may possibly be due.

Typographical difficulties have led to the use of transliteration[1] in place of Hebrew characters in these studies; as this necessitates the insertion of vowels into a text written originally with consonants only, it has the disadvantage that emendations sometimes seem to involve more radical changes than they in reality do. Moreover, for typographical reasons the printing of extensive portions of the reconstructed text has not been attempted, except in the case of the Amos Doom Song; in general the transliteration has been confined to the emended words. In the case of Isaiah I have offered instead a translation of the whole of the reconstructed text. In this translation my purpose was again to emphasize the parallelism. Accordingly absolute

---

[1] It was not found possible even to follow the system of transliteration generally accepted in the United States to-day; but the student of Hebrew will easily recognize that ç represents the Hebrew çādhē (dotted s); q the Hebrew qōph (dotted k); χ the Hebrew χēth (dotted h); while simple s represents the Hebrew sāmekh and sīn, and in a few cases Arabic sād (i.e., çād). Proper names, however, have in general been left without diacritical marks or accents of any kind; e.g., Hariri instead of Xarīrī.

literalness has not always been insisted upon; active and passive constructions have sometimes been interchanged; single words expressing the spirit of the original have been used where literalness would have demanded some longer paraphrase; and unimportant particles have sometimes been omitted (e.g., the connective "and") where the meaning was not thereby altered. The attempt has been made also to represent something of the assonance, rhythm, and other stylistic characteristics of the Hebrew, all of which devices have been used in the translation in about the same proportion, though not always at the same point of the couplet, as in the original.

Being convinced, however, that the affinities of Hebrew parallelism are with the prototype of the Arabic *saj‘* and not with the classical system of meters, I have not attempted to show exact regularity in the rhythm. Little is known concerning the prophet's method of delivering his oracles. It has been pointed out that *saj‘* in Arabic means "the cooing of the dove," and that Isaiah speaks of "wizards that peep and mutter"; it might be added that *ne’um* (applied to the utterance of the prophets in the ecstatic state, and translated "saith") comes from a root meaning in Arabic "to groan or sigh"; that *nābhī’* ("prophet") itself comes from a root meaning "to utter a low sound," or "to bark faintly": hence perhaps a very striking instance of paranomasia in Is. 56.10, referring to false prophets, who are "dumb dogs; they cannot bark" (*linbōᵃχ* for *linbō’*, just as *hōzīm*, "ravers," in the same sentence is used instead of *χōzīm*, "seers"). But whether Isaiah's ridicule of the "chirping" of wizards implies that the true prophet had some other special vocal method of delivering his oracles, or that he spoke in the method of ordinary speech, is not clear. If the prophets chanted, perhaps, the number of syllables or even of words in a sentence would not be of much importance, for a single syllable might have been held for the length of time normally given to two or more syllables, or two or more syllables or words be spoken in the time, and even with the number of "beats," normally given to one; or a pause or rest might compensate for the absence of a word—this particularly in the case of lines in which some part

of a sentence must be supplied in thought from a preceding line; while the words in a particularly short line, e.g., at the end of certain prophecies, might have been held for special emphasis.

Mr. Newman wishes to express his appreciation for several suggestions (particularly with reference to the relation between primitive parallelism and magical incantations) made by Rabbi Martin A. Meyer of San Francisco, Lecturer in Semitic History in the University of California; for active aid and criticism by Professor Richard Gottheil of the Department of Semitic Languages, Columbia University, New York; and for information furnished by Professor Max Margolis of Dropsie College, Philadelphia, Professor Israel Frielander of the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York, and Dr. Nahum Slouschz of the Rabbinical College of America.

My thanks are due to several of my colleagues, particularly Professor F. J. Teggart and Professor C. I. Lewis, for suggesting changes in the wording of my translation; likewise to Professor M. Jastrow, Jr., of the University of Pennsylvania, who was in California while these studies were in progress and first suggested to me that they might be worth publishing.

<div align="right">WILLIAM POPPER.</div>

BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA, June 27, 1917.

[These papers will appear also as a volume of the *Semicentennial Publications of the University of California*, folioed independently, but in addition bearing in brackets the corresponding folios of the present series.]

CONTENTS

PART I.—PARALLELISM IN AMOS

PARALLELISM IN AMOS

BY

LOUIS I. NEWMAN

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

ORIGIN OF PARALLELISM

Parallelism in poetry is the expression of universal psychological principles. It is a law of biological life that " 'deep calleth unto deep,' tree to tree, bird to bird, all the world over."[1] So in the field of literary expression, thought answers thought and word answers word. For the human mind, richly-stored, rarely contents itself with a single formulation of a theme close to its interests: to express a thought in brief laconic form merely once, does not satisfy it. In prose, the author usually seeks to reaffirm and elaborate his statements either by repetition of favorite phrases, or by the use of new words and expressions; and this is true even more strongly of poetry, the language of feeling. "So soon as the heart gives way to its emotions, wave follows upon wave."[2] The poet or prophet in moments of inspiration pours forth metaphors and characterizations of his subject in rich flood. Yet a sense of inner orderliness prevails; the most eloquent prophets are usually most skilled in poetic

---

[1] Smith, *The Early Poetry of Israel* (London, 1912), p. 16.

[2] Herder, *The Spirit of Hebrew Poetry;* translation by James Marsh (Burlington, 1833), p. 43. Herder gives one of the best analyses of the psychology of parallelism.

forms.[3]   This feeling for organization and regularity guides the
repetition; and though it is possible for the poet to heap up a
series of similar statements, as is seen in the most primitive
poetry, it will be found that a later process demands ordinarily
the use of only two, in couplet structure.   Herein a principle
of balance seems to enter whereby the poet consciously or
unconsciously places one statement opposite to another either
synonymous or unlike.   Two psychological rules thus appear
to interplay: one demanding repetition, in the same or different
words, of a special thought; the other demanding orderliness
and restricting this repetition to a couplet formation.   These
two tendencies are apparent in the rise and evolution of primi-
tive poetry.

Evolution of Parallelism

The origin and development of primitive poetry are marked
by three great stages: first, indefinite iteration, unchanged, and
unvarying; second, incremental repetition; third, artistic par-
allelism.[4]   Iteration may be designated as the earliest form of
poetry; it was communal, the spontaneous expression of emotion,
beginning in the crowd, and carried forward and backward
without cease, almost under the influence of mob hypnotism.
Usually a single verse, a statement of fact, or in the first in-
stance, a fact stated not formally but by repetition of words
in a rhythmic period, was the subject of iteration.[5]

Incremental repetition arises when communal mass song is
supplemented by the assertion of individual poetic genius.   A
variation suddenly breaks into the iteration from the lips of
a daring singer, moved by an inner impulse.   He supplements
the stock of communal refrains with those of his own invention.
At first, this must have occurred at the end of a long series of
iterations, to interrupt the monotony; gradually, the series of

---

[3] Kaplan, *Psychology of Prophecy* (Philadelphia, 1908), p. 60ff.   For
a clear statement of the psychology of parallelism in its relation to the
development of balance and rhythm, see Hupfeld, *Die Psalmen* (Gotha,
1888), II, p. xxviiff.

[4] See Gummere, *Beginnings of Poetry* (New York, 1901), pp. 208–209.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 250; Gummere cites as examples of iteration the beginnings
of the *vocero*, the repeated cries of the Africans, the Fuegians, the Boto-
cudos, and other savage peoples.

repetitions must have been shortened by more frequent varia-
tions, and finally, the period of complete freedom of variation
must have appeared, though this marks a late stage in the
development of poetry.[6]

Parallelism marks a third distinct major division in the
evolution of ancient poetry.   In order to trace the steps through
which bald iteration became artistic parallelism, it is necessary
to turn to those literatures of antiquity wherein parallelism is
most apparent.   These divide themselves into two classes: first,
the literatures of several non-Semitic peoples, including the
Finnish and the Chinese; second, the literatures of several
Semitic and Semitically influenced peoples, including the Egyp-
tian, the Sumerian, the Babylonian-Assyrian, the Arabic and the
Hebrew.   Since the pivot of this study is Hebrew parallelism,
investigation into parallelism outside of the Bible will be largely
comparative.

Parallelism is so simple a poetic *motif* that it is discoverable
in some degree in almost every literature.   Isolated couplets
can be selected from the Greek,[7] the Latin, Indian,[8] Germanic[9]
and Anglo-Saxon[10] literatures.   But it is of little value to gather
these illustrations from all sides; they merely indicate an
obvious fact, namely, that the tendency to express the same
thought in varying language is confined to no one group or

---

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 200–201; Gummere gives illustrations from English ballads
(p. 206ff.) and includes therein cases in which the same line or stanza
is sung indefinitely, with the use of a new name, number, or fact in each
repetition.   In songs of lament, labor, triumph, processions, festal refrains,
the threefold process of poetic development is present, in almost all litera-
tures.

[7] See Schleusner, *Dissertatio de parallelismo membrorum egregio inter-
pretationis subsidio* (Leipzig, 1817), p. 11; Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa*
(Leipzig, 1898), II, 813–824; Schmidt, *Ueber den bau der pindarischen
Strophen* (Leipzig, 1882), *passim*.

[8] Friedrich v. Schlegel professed to have found in the Sanskrit *sloka*
a close affinity between the Indian proverb and the Hebrew, though the
former is much more regular in its use of four equal measure, eight syllable
feet than the free and loose Hebrew structure.   *Saemmtliche Werke;* ed. 2
(Vienna, 1846), I, 121–124.   Rosenkranz, *Handbuch d. allg. Geschichte
d. Poesie* (Halle, 1832), I, 77, finds no basis for this comparison, and
therein seems justified; for parallelism plays no rôle in the Sanskrit.

[9] Wuttke, *Die deutsche Volksaberglaube der Gegenwart* (Berlin, 1869),
p. 157.   He regards parallelism as perhaps the most important formal
ethnic thought (''formale Voelkergedanke'') in existence.   ''In forms
such as 'Mond nimt zu, Warze nimt ab,' 'Glocken gehen Toten nach,
Warzen gehn mit' there lies a genuine and original folk-poetry, a parallel-

assembly of peoples, but is universal. It is imperative, however,
to turn to those literatures wherein parallelism is *a* if not *the*
dominant poetic law; herein are included Chinese and Finnish
poetry, in which even the casual reader at once perceives that
parallelism is not merely prevalent, but highly developed, and
especially the literatures of the Semitic and Semitically in-
fluenced peoples of western Asia, who, it will be shown, adopted
the *motif* of parallelism virtually as their own; it appears to
have been the common substratum for the literatures of Egypt,
Babylonia, Arabia and Judea. Egypt, it is true, failed to attain
great heights in its use, and remained on the low levels between
iteration, incremental repetition, and parallelism. Arabic liter-
ature after maintaining a species of parallelism for centuries,
broke away into new fields of poetic forms. Babylonia and
Assyria accepted the prevalent literary forms of their Sumerian
predecessors, and gave the expansion of parallelism great im-

---

ism of thought as in Hebrew literature, particularly the Proverbs.''   Other
examples of Germanic parallelism are as follows:

    ''Wer hat gesehen dass des Bockes Horn zum Himmel reicht?
    Wer hat gesehen dass des Kameels Schwanz zur Erde reicht?''
Or
    ''Was gedenkst du die Voegel des Himmels zu fangen?
    Was gedenkst du die Fische des Meeres zu fangen?''
Or
    ''Des Menschen Dummheit ist inne,
    Des Viehes Buntheit aussen.''
(Radloff, *Proben der Volkslitteratur der tuerkischen Staemme Sued-
Siberiens*, St. Petersburg, 1866, I, 6–7). Also in the Germanic, parallelism
is associated with magical formulas:

    ''In des Hunds Zahn moeg' er schwinden,
    In des Wolfs Zahn moeg' er wachsen,
    In des Nordes Wind entweichen,
    Aus dem Wind hinaus ins Leere.''
(*Mythische u. magische Lieder der Ehsten*, St. Petersburg, 1854, p. 87.)

[10] Smith, pp. 14–16. These selections from English folk songs, nursery
rhymes and ballads often show rather incremental, repetition than par-
allelism. (Gray, *Forms of Hebrew Poetry*, London, 1915, pp. 38, 128–131.)
Longfellow's Hiawatha (see below) is perhaps one of the best examples
of parallelism in English, but it is an imitation of Finnish structure and
hence not native and original. Many English proverbs show the almost
universal antithetic parallelism:

    ''Laugh and the world laughs with you,
    Weep and you weep alone.''
Or
    ''To dare to fail is noble,
    To fail to dare ignoble.''
Parallelism is scattered through Anglo-Saxon and English literature; both,
however, are ruled by a completely different literary psychology from the
ancient Semitic literatures, and parallelism is never dominant.

petus.   The Hebrews, however, the inheritors of a long literary tradition, welcomed parallelism as a national poetic usage; and, in their hands it attained its most notable expression.

NON–SEMITIC PARALLELISM

FINNISH PARALLELISM

Finnish poetry is remarkable for its singular rigidity of form; it is terse and epigrammatic, and derives its style and aroma from a tradition dating back perhaps 3000 years.[11]   Its two main peculiarities are alliteration, or the rhyme of letters, which is practiced to such a degree that often not only do the words of the same verse begin with the same consonant, as is generally the case in old northern poetry, but also with the same following vowel; and parallelism, or the rhyme of sense.   Its similarity in this latter respect to Hebrew poetry has been noted by several investigators;[12] and it is in parallelism, called *runon kerto,* that the Finnish regularity and conciseness demonstrate themselves most notably.   "In Finnish the second line of a couplet is nearly always a repetition in other words of its predecessor and stands in apposition to it.   If there is no subject or no verb in the second line, this must be understood from the line above, though sometimes it is vice-versa."[13]   Comparetti states the following formulation of the principle: "Every line must contain a complete idea, or a part complete in itself of a greater idea, and this must be repeated in different words in the succeeding line."[14]

The law of parallelism influences the outward form of Finnish verse, for it renders almost necessary the rhyme of substantival or verbal endings.   Herein is the germ of developed

---

[11] Billson, *Popular Poetry of the Finns* (London, 1900), p. 3.   This contains a bibliographical index of works in English, French, and German on Finnish poetry.

[12] Brown, *People of Finland in Archaic Times* (London, 1892), p. 279–280; and others mentioned below, particularly Comparetti, *Traditional Poetry of the Finns,* translated by Isabella M. Anderton (New York, 1898), p. 35; Porthan, *De Poesi Fennica* (Abo, 1766–1778), p. 20.

[13] Abercromby, "Magic Songs of the Finns," *Folklore* (London, 1890), I, 22; Comparetti, *op. cit.,* p. 33.

[14] *Ibid.,* p. 36.

rhyme.   Comparetti regards parallelism as a primitive *motif,*
prior and subordinated to regular metre.   His opinions are
valuable for a consideration of parallelism in Arabic literature,
where an early parallelism seems to have been overlaid by intri-
cate poetical devices.   When poetry is in a primitive condition
and makes abundant use of parallelism and of consonances and
assonances of every kind, then the metrical verse, if it exists,
is apt to be roughly indicated, unequal, or variable in length
and in the number of its syllables.   As soon as metre makes good
its claims, imposes number in a measurement of lines, and fixes
rhythmical rules based not so much on the quality as on the
quantity of sounds, the verse becomes varied, and the law that
governs the quality and recurrence is either limited or lost.
Alliteration also disappears.   Rhyme remains, but no longer as
free as in primitive poetry[15]; it is linked with the complex laws
of metre, and becomes obedient to laws regarding distribution,
position and combination of verses.   It is important to observe
that the Finnic rune follows the eight-syllable trochaic un-
rhymed measure.   This adherence to a constant law may be a
sign of the maturity of the poetry.   At the same time, Finnish
rune knows only this one kind of metre, and has not yet arrived
at the stage of producing various forms, as it has not yet learned
to group the lines into stanzas, and "has not advanced beyond
the use of such primitive, even archaic means as alliteration,
free rhymes, parallelism.''[16]

Parallelism also affects the very substance and ideas of the
poem.   In lyric poetry, the repetition or the variation in other
words of an image or thought does not make for monotony, but
as Xavier Marmier has noted, leaves in the mind an impression
of indefinable charm, of deep melody, of rich variations of
thought; parallelism colors, heightens, multiplies poetic expres-
sion, generates emphasis and warmth.   In the epic, however,
in the narrative, traditional historical poetry, the sameness of
verse and the smallness of resource afforded by parallelism
prevent the attainment of this lyric warmth, movement, and

---

[15] In Hebrew poetry, it will be seen that rhyme is accidental and rare.
[16] Comparetti, p. 36.

impetus;[17] instead of sharpening the outlines of the idea, paral-
lelism oftentimes renders it tremulous, undetermined, or generic.
Finding no exact synonym or image adapted to repeat an idea,
the *laulaja,* or popular singer, substitutes another which he
thinks appropriate; hence often the specific idea becomes blurred
and is forgotten.[18]

This leads to a statement of the probable origin of Finnish
parallelism.   It may lie in magical incantations, similar per-
haps to the Sumerian and Babylonian-Assyrian.   The first stage
seems to have been mere repetition.   Among the Samoyedes, the
Shaman or magic-man begins by beating the magic drum, and
singing a few words to gloomy awesome music; then another
performer of less importance comes in, and they sing the same
words together, after which the first remains silent while the
second repeats alone what he sang.   The song of these Samoyede
Shamans consists of a few words, and is almost entirely im-
provised.   Among the Lapps, the magical incantations, spoken
in a sing-song manner, accompanied by the roll of the magic
drum, betray a rudimentary, oscillating and variable near-metre,
a kind of rhythmic prose.   The Finnish magical formula in a
late period of development, though it was pronounced by one
person, still contains much repetition.   In short, while the
evidence is not entirely clear, the earliest origins of Finnish
parallelism may be traced back to magical rites wherein repe-
tition played the important rôle.[18a]

In Finnish epic poetry, richer evidence as to origin is avail-
able.   It is the ancient custom for the runes to be sung by two
men, of whom one is the chief, the precentor; the other is his
assistant, the repeater, *kertoja.*   Seated side by side, or opposite
to each other, they join hands; during the song, their bodies

---

[17] *Ibid.,* p. 33.

[18] *Ibid.,* p. 67.   ''The *laulaja* will say that Vainamoinen, having fallen
into the waters, 'went about there for six years, there for seven summers,
tossed for nine years,' where the numbers oscillate by reason of the par-
allelism, and we obtain the result of a long, indeterminate period of time.''
Such a phenomenon does not occur in Hebrew, where the second term serves
rather to heighten than to obscure the clarity of the terms.   Herein is one
of the points which shows the difference in composition, surely in origin,
of the Hebrew parallelism.

[18a] *Ibid.* See also pp. 171ff.; Beauvais, ''La magie chez les finnois,''
Revue de l'histoire des Religions, V, 1; VI, 251 (1882).

are in a constant swinging movement. One of the singers
begins by singing a rune stichos alone, in the last bar of which
the other joins, simply repeating the stichos, and so on to the
end. During this repetition the first singer finds the needful
time to reflect on what his next line is to be. The second singer
when he repeats the line, generally introduces some word of
approbation, but seldom does he correct the first singer, or vary,
or add to his first stichos. The Finnish practice, then, is mainly
a feat of memory, dependent upon the conservative spirit of
tradition, which relies upon the agreement of two memories;
though it is also to some extent a feat of literary ingenuity,
especially when the line is improvised,[19] for the second singer
must know, or guess in time, the end of the line that he is to sing
with the first singer. If it were that the second singer took up
the general thought of the first and repeated it in different meta-
phors and images, then this phenomenon would indubitably
deserve recognition as the basis of Finnish parallelism, as the
practice of the Hebrew singing women at the Red Sea, and
the return of David, seem to suggest the origin of Hebrew par-
allelism. But even as the matter stands, it must be concluded
that within the general sphere of the epic song the method of
the first appearance of parallelism is probably to be sought.[20]

The basic form of Finnish parallelism is obviously the coup-
let, though combinations of more than two lines are frequent.
There are many varieties of parallelism; repetitions often occur
in more than two lines, especially in magic songs, where they
are continued for a great number of lines. Sometimes par-
allelism is absent, and there are even lines whereof the sense is
completed only in the following line; repetition also occurs not
only from line to line, but also in the same line. For in the
use of the various motifs of Finnish poetry, the *laulaja,* though
he is bound absolutely to the eight syllable trochaic metre, and

---

[19] Comparetti, p. 69.

[20] Amongst the Karels, the old manner of singing is kept up, and one
meets with many of the old songs there (Brown, *op. cit.,* pp. 278–279). It
must be observed, however, that in some cases, though this is doubtful,
the second singer repeats the thought of the first in different words. See
Paul, *The Kalevala* (Helsingfors, 1885–1886), I, vii. But in several poems
the thought does not become apparent until the addition of the second
stichos.

is bound in a measure also to the use of alliteration, rhyme and parallelism, reserves to himself full liberty as to the mode of employing the latter, so that he can improvise without being unduly hampered.[21]

Synonymous parallelism is very frequent in Finnish poetry. Countless examples are to be found in the Kalevala, the Finnish national epic, and other long poems:[22]

> Many men that live to murmur,
> Many women live to censure.

> Many speak with evil motives,
> Many they with wretched voices

> Curse me for my wretched singing,
> Blame my tongue for speaking wisdom,

> Call my ancient songs unworthy;
> Blame the songs and curse the singer.

> Be not thus, my worthy people,
> Blame me not for singing badly;

> Unpretending as a minstrel,

> I have never had the teaching,
> Never lived with ancient heroes,
> Never learned the tongues of strangers,
> Never claimed to know much wisdom,

> Others have had language masters,

> Nature was my only teacher,
> Woods and waters my instructors....

> Be this as it may, my people,

> This may point the way to others,
> To the singers better gifted,

> For the good of future ages,
> For the coming generations,
> For the rising folk of Soumi.[23]

---

[21] Comparetti, p. 34.   The use of a regular metre takes the Finnish out of the territory of the Hebrew, for in the latter, as will be seen, the rules of metrical formation cannot be clearly formulated.

[22] On the Kalevala, see Crawford, *The Kalevala* (New York, 1889), Porter, *Selections from the Kalevala* (New York, 1868). See also Paul, *Kanteletar, die Volkslyrik der Finnen* (Helsingfors, 1882); Retzius, and others.

[23] Examples of synonymous and mixed parallelism are numerous in the Kalevala; this one is taken from Abercromby, p. 26:
> ''A maiden walked along the air's edge—
> A girl along the 'navel' of the sky,

This quotation shows that the same problems which confront the investigator in Hebrew are present in Finnish poetry. The dominant characteristic is parallelism, and the couplet is most frequent. There are several loose monostichs, however; there are several triplets; there are portions which show no parallelism, and which would be near-prose were it not for their stichic form.[24]   So-called synthetic parallelism is a frequent accom-

> Along the outline of a cloud—
> Along the heaven's boundary,
>
> In stockings of a bluish hue,
> In shoes with ornamented heels.''

[24] Each printed line has at least a comma at the end of it, due to the division between line and line consequent on the complete idea, or complete part of an idea which each one offers; this establishes a rhythmic division in the ideas themselves in their order and succession, and this division is felt in direct proportion to the shortness of the lines. See Comparetti, pp. 33–34.   An example of this stichic completeness may be found in the following selection from the Kalevala:

> ''A hundred sayings do I possess,
> Fastened to my girdle, to my ring, to my side;
>
> Which every child cannot sing,
> Nor every lad the half of them. . . .
>
> My songs are my learning,
> My verses my goods;
>
> From the roads did I dig them,
> From green boughs did I pluck them,
> I wrenched them from the heather plants;
>
> When I a little one was herding,
> A little child was tending lambs.
>
> Up from the honeymounds,
> Across the golden hillocks,
>
> Songs did the wind waft me,
> The air cradled them by hundreds,
>
> Verses surged around me,
> Sayings rained down like water. . . .
>
> My father would sing them as he fitted a new handle to his axe;
> From my mother would I learn them as her spindle twirled.''

Examples of monostichs inserted in the midst of good parallelism may be found in the next quotation. In may be noted that the number of incomplete, part stichoi in the Finnish which depend upon the verb in another couplet is larger than in Hebrew.

> ''And the wind rocked him
>
> To the unknown gates,
> To the strange abodes,
>
> To lands without a priest,
> To countries unbaptised.
>
> Behold me, poor wight,
>
> Tossed on a rolling tree,
> Tossed on a withering trunk. . . .''

paniment of good parallelism; since, however, it must be con-
ceded that synthetic parallelism is not in reality parallelism
at all, it must be concluded of the Finnish, that parallelism is
not the only, though it is perhaps the major, *motif* of its poetry;
there is a twilight zone wherein prose and poetry meet. This
general conclusion drawn from the Finnish may assist in a
determination of the character of the Hebrew.

Antithetic parallellism appears in Finnish proverbs, which
have "much resemblance in their form to those of Solomon,"[25]
and generally display the same varieties of complete and of
incomplete parallelism with and without compensation. Fin-
nish parallelism is also an aid in exegesis; though the text has
not been injured through transmission, several instances obtain
where the presence in a second stichos of a synonymous word
serves to clarify the meaning of a dubious phrase corresponding
to it in the first.

Among peoples akin to the Finns, also, parallelism is found.
Among the Lapps, for example, influenced by Finnish literature
though themselves of another race, the Finno-Mongolic magical
songs bear a slight resemblance in structure to the Finnish;
while in the epic and mythical literature, especially that relating
to the "Child of the Sun," the form of the Finnish rune is clearly
recognizable with its metre, alliteration, and parallelism.[26]

Finnish parallelism has been responsible for similar poetry
in a channel far removed from it. Longfellow's Hiawatha
is built upon the Finnish scheme. The poet is known to have
derived the suggestion for its form from Schiefner's translation
of the Kalevala; when he heard the trochaic measure, he pro-
nounced it to be the one for the discovery of which he had been
waiting and longing, since it was peculiarly adapted to give
expression to the thoughts surging in his mind. The use of
parallelism in the poem was evidently conscious and deliberate,
and by contrast indicates that its appearance elsewhere in
English poems is generally accidental, and irregular.[27]

---

[25] Brown, p. 282; Gottlund, *De Proverbiis Fennicis* (Upsala, 1818).

[26] Comparetti, p. 43.

[27] See p. 60, note 10.

Hiawatha possesses the same style and also the same problems as Finnish parallelism, namely, the relation of single lines, couplets and triplets, the interplay of prose and poetry, and the stichic division of lines.   The couplet form is frequent, though not constant over long tracts of text; sometimes two lines are necessary to complete merely one thought, while each stichos does not have the necessary half-though of a good couplet:

> Suddenly upon the greensward
> All alone stood Hiawatha.[28]

Moreover exact synonymity is rare over long periods in the poem, even when the couplet form recurs; the second stichos usually adds much to the thought of the first; most of the lines and distichs fall within the field of synthetic parallelism.   But examples of regular parallelistic structure can be found:

> All your strength is in your union
> All your danger is in discord;
>
> Therefore be at peace henceforward,
> And as brothers live together....
>
> Big words do not smite like war-clubs,
> Boastful breath is not a bow-string,
> Taunts are not so sharp as arrows,
>
> Deeds are better things than words are,
> Actions mightier than boastings.[29]

Chinese Parallelism

Points of resemblance between Chinese and Hebrew literature have often been noted.   The language and style of several Cantonese love songs show similarity to passages in the Song of Solomon and other Hebrew poems.[30]   Far more striking, how-

---

[28] Cf. Lowth's and Gray's discussion on Ps. 2.6; see also below, p. 173.

[29] Another example wherein there is a variation of the couplet form, and where a fifth stichos sums up the thought of the preceding four:
> "As unto the bow the cord is,
> So unto the man is woman;
>
> Though she bends him, she obeys him,
> Though she draws him, yet she follows;
>
> Useless each without the other."

The first couplet with its introductory conjunctions finds numerous counterparts in the *ka-'asher* couplets in Hebrew; cf. Amos. 3.12, 5.19, etc.

[30] Clementi, *Cantonese Love Songs in English* (Oxford, 1904), p. 6.

ever, is the presence of parallelism in Chinese literature. Its
usage therein was noted by J. F. Davis, whose work, *Poeseos
Sinensis Commentarii*, "On the Poetry of the Chinese,"[31] has
become standard. Almost every investigator of Chinese prosody
since 1829 has restated and reaffirmed Davis' conclusions.[32]
Davis remarks that the dominant construction of Chinese poetry
is found in "lines of every length used in measured couplets,
or sentences in pairs, nicely balanced in words and sense." He
notes the "striking coincidence" with Hebrew poetry, and
adopts the terminology of Bishop Lowth, giving the *motif*
the name "parallelism" and dividing it into three types—
synonymous, antithetic and synthetic.

It is necessary first, however, to approach Chinese parallelism
from the viewpoint of its three major characteristic divisions—
parallelism of tone, of grammar, and of thought. The first
two are unique in Chinese literature, and present few points of
comparison with Hebrew; it is doubtful whether they may be
included under the name of parallelism.

Parallelism of tone demands merely that the syllables, instead
of being counted, must follow each other in tones that vary
according to rule, just as the cadence of English verse is deter-
mined not solely by rhyme and by enumeration of the syllables,
but also by the relative position of the accented syllables and
those on which no stress is laid.[33] Distinction is made between
two classes of tones, the even or similar tones, and the uneven
or dissimilar tones. The two even or equal tones are spoken
with the same stress and strength of voice and are differentiated
only by a variation of tone levels. The three unequal tones
are the rising, the falling and the contracting, "eingehende,"
that is, one in which the voice rises upward, or sinks to the lower
notes, or the tone breaks off abruptly. These tones or accents

---

[31] *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society* (London, 1829), II, 410–
419. Republished in 1834 and 1870. For this work the 1829 paging is
used.

[32] Scarborough, Gabelantz, Heilmann, Grube, Bethge, Chamberlain, Cran-
mer-Byng, and others whose works are cited below. For the use of par-
allelism in the interpretation of difficult and even mutilated passages see
particularly Schlegel, *La loi du parallélisme en style chinois* (Leyden, 1896).

[33] Chamberlain, *Classical Poetry of the Japanese* (Boston, 1880), pp.
3–4; remarks on Chinese poetical formations.

must be divided according to definite rules, so that they stand in parallels.[34]   It will be seen that one of the most difficult questions in a classification of Hebrew parallelisms is bound up with the use of the accents.   The Chinese system differs from the Hebrew in several respects, not the least important of which is the regularity and constancy with which the accentual system is maintained.

A parallelism of · grammar or syntax also characterizes Chinese poetry.   It demands that the single words in two successive verses shall correspond exactly not only according to their position in the stichoi, but also according to their grammatical and syntactical category.   For each noun, pronoun, and adjective of the first stichoi, the same grammatical value must stand in the identical place in the second:

> (On-the) mountain (the) Sun quickly (towards) the West sinks,
> (On-the) sea   (the) Moon slowly (towards) the East rises.[35]

Another rule assists this regularity.   The fact that in Chinese each word is indicated by a sign or character helps to bring to light the many-sided and changeful correspondence of the terms and the feet of the stichoi; and the use of ideographic determinatives oftentimes of itself indicates to the eye the similarity of parallel word-concepts and word-classes.   Moreover, the characters are arranged deliberately by the poet in artistic harmony.   This device may be called parallelism of word-signs. It is peculiar to the Chinese, finding no counterpart in Hebrew.[36]

Parallelism of thought and figure, however, brings Chinese

---

[34] ''Therefore in the 8 line strophe with 7 foot verses, the rule is that the unequal syllables, namely, the 1st, 3rd, 5th and 7th, may have an optional tone, while in the equal, namely the 2nd, 4th, and 6th, the tones must exchange with each other, so that when the 2nd syllable has an equal or even tone, the 4th must have an unequal, the 6th an equal, or vice versa. Moreover, in 2nd and 3rd, 4th and 5th, 6th and 7th verses, the corresponding equal syllables agree exactly in tone, and the first verse must correspond exactly to the 8th.   In five foot verses, the first syllable of each verse stands at the option of the poet; for all the others, a rigid schematic rule exists.''   Heilmann, *Chinesische Lyrik vom 12ten Jahrhundert v. Chr. bis zur Gegenwart* (Leipzig, 1905), pp. xxviiff.; Grube, *Die chinesische Literatur,* in *Die orientalischen Literaturen* (Leipzig, 1906), p. 341.   See also below, Scarborough's remarks on antithetic parallelism.

[35] Grube, p. 342; Heilmann, p. xxvii.

[36] Gabelantz. *Z. f. Voelkerpsych.* X (1878), 230ff.   ''It is worthy of observation that out of this parallelism of form, the custom arises oftentimes to write without punctuation.   The Greek also does not need punctuation for his Gorgias.''   Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa,* II, 8–24.

poetry within the same domain as the Hebrew: two successive
verses, rather stichoi, are joined together by a parallelism of
ideas or of figures, which rests upon the condition either of
similarity or of opposition; it is not merely formal or external,
but is internal parallelism.   Chinese differs from the Hebrew
only in that the peculiar structure of the language generally and
the strict observance of the law of syntactic parallelism men-
tioned above, render the synonymity much closer and more
obvious; it is usually word for word, the one written opposite
the other:

> The white stone, unfractured, ranks as most precious;
> The blue lily, unblemished, emits the finest fragrance.

> The heart, when it is harassed, finds no place of rest;
> The mind, in the midst of bitterness, thinks only of grief.

> Be not discontented, though your land be narrow, and your garden
> small;
> Be not disturbed, though your family be poor, and your means con-
> tracted.

Antithetic parallelism is a favorite Chinese *motif*.   It is
commonly perfect both in sentiment and terms.   ''The Chinese
is a stylistic connoisseur of the most delicate sensibilities, and
greatly admires sharp antitheses.''   The symmetrical form,
wherein term answers for term, is even more regular than in
Hebrew.   As in the Proverbs of Solomon, so in Chinese maxims
and aphorisms antithetic parallelism is used most extensively:[37]

> With few cravings of the heart, the health is flourishing,
> With many anxious thoughts, the constitution decays.

> Unsullied poverty is always happy;
> Impure wealth brings many sorrows.

> Consider not any vice as trivial and therefore practice it.
> Regard not any virtue as unimportant and therefore neglect it.

> Prosecuting virtue is like ascending a steep;
> Pursuing vice, like rushing down a precipice.

It might be noted here that there are several varieties of
parallelism in Chinese proverbs.   Antithetic parallelism is
known as the *tui-tzŭ* and is formed according to strictly tech-

---

[37] Davis, *Maxims* (London, 1823), cited on p. 412 of *On Poetry of
Chinese*.

nical rules.[38]   Another form of proverbs wherein antithesis plays
a part is *lien-chü,* or "connected sentences";[39] while a third
class of parallistic couplet-proverbs is composed of those that
rhyme.[40]

Antithetic parallelism appears also in general poetry, where
it is used less often than for aphorisms and wise sayings.   But
it is found to exist in every degree, from the strong mutual
opposition of *all* the corresponding words in a couplet—the
"complete parallelism" of Gray[41]—to that of *some* of them—
"incomplete parallelism."

> Look on life as an uncertain guest, that cannot remain;
> Believe that death is fixed, and cannot be escaped.

> When the region of the heart is at rest, the body too enjoys ease;
> But the passions being excited, then disorders of the body arise.

> Supinely gazing, now I vent my sighs,
>   Now, bending down, in tears my sorrow flows;
> The wealthy alien claims connubial ties,
>   The needy kinsman no relation knows.[42]

---

[38] Scarborough, *Collection of Chinese Proverbs* (Shanghai, 1875, pp.
x–xi).   "A tui-tzu may contain any number of words, but the most fre-
quent number is seven in each line.   It must be so written that the order
of the tones in the first line shall be, firstly deflected, secondly even, and
thirdly deflected; in the second line, firstly even, secondly deflected, and
thirdly even, or vice-versa.   Should the first, third or fifth characters
violate this rule, it is of no consequence; the second, fourth, and the sixth
cannot be allowed to do so.   It is essential also that the last character
in the first line should be in a deflected tone, and the last in the second
line, in an even tone.   The same characters may not be repeated in either
line, and it is essential that there should be an antithesis, as well in the
sense as in the tones, of the words composing the two lines of the couplet.
It is also a rule that particles must be placed in antithesis to particles;
and nouns, verbs, etc., to nouns, verbs, etc."

[39] The proverbs of the class of "connected sentences" are very plenti-
ful; they are of various lengths, of different styles of composition, and
are informal in all else but the corresponding number of words in each
line.   There is generally a sharp antithesis between the first and second
lines:

> "The poor must not quarrel with the rich;
>   Nor the rich with magistrates."

> "It is not hard to talk about good works,
>   But to do them."

Compare on this last example, Amos 9.12b.

[40] The couplet-proverbs which rhyme are detected only by the native
ear.   The explanation of this is that in order to rhyme to a native ear,
the tones must correspond.

[41] See below, in chapter on Parallelism in Amos, p. 137.

[42] It is imperative to bear in mind that these are translations; as in
Hebrew the parallelism is evident through the translations; but the savor
of the original cannot be retained.

Synthetic parallelism is the most common species in Chinese poetry. Here, as in Hebrew, each word and line does not exactly answer to its fellow as either equivalent or opposite in sense; but there is a marked correspondence and equality in the construction of the lines, such as nouns answering to nouns, verb to verb, member to member, negative to negative, interrogative to interrogative. As in Hebrew, synonymous and antithetic parallelisms are generally accompanied by synthetic, and are rarely found without it; correspondence of construction even stands alone without correspondence in equivalency or opposition. Synthetic parallelism pervades Chinese poetry universally and forms its foremost characteristic feature; it is the source of much "artificial beauty." It also presents difficult problems of prosody; and there is doubt whether it deserves classification as a branch of parallelism.

> Thus alone and dauntless he walked—all confident in his courage;
> Thus proud and reserved—he must needs possess high talents,
> Courage—as if Tszeloong, the hero, had re-appeared in the world;
> Talents—as though Lepih, the poet had again been born.

> A hundred—a thousand—ten thousand projects are hard to accomplish,
> Five times—six times—ten years very soon arrive.
> When you have found a day to be idle—be idle for a day;
> When you have met with three cups to drink—then drink your three cups.[43]

The point at which synthetic parallelism shades into prose, and deserves the appellation "near-prose," is as uncertain as in Hebrew. For this constructional parallelism of sentences extends to prose compositions and is frequent in fine writing, *wun-chang,* which is a measured prose, though not written line beside line like poetry; it savors somewhat of Arabic rhymed-prose, though it employs no rhyme. Indeed, synonymous, antithetic, and constructive parallelisms are met with occasionally in every description of writing that rises above the style of mere conversation or narrative. Davis quotes the following prose sentence as an instance wherein coincidence of sentence

---

[43] This suggests the alternate parallelism of the Hebrew. These examples are taken from the poem of The Fortunate Union, cited by Davis, and from Cranmer-Byng, *A Feast of Lanterns* (London, 1916), p. 31.

and a hint of parallelism occur; it is to be noted, however, that three and not two parts, or stichoi, are present:

> The highest order of men (called *Shing,* perfect or inspired) are virtuous, or wise, independently of instruction; the middle class of men (*Heen,* good or moral) are so after instruction; the lowest order (*Yu,* stupid or worthless) are vicious in spite of instruction.

Another question arises with reference to the unit of Chinese parallelism. The couplet, as in Hebrew, seems to be the fundamental form. "This may be accounted for by the fact that couplet making is a favorite amusement of the educated classes and that couplets when well turned, are objects of their intense admiration."[44] Dodd holds that the poem of four lines which had its vogue from 699 A.D. is the unit of Chinese poetry.[45] But in the majority of poems the authors leave sufficient space between pairs of lines to indicate that they intended couplet-groupings; often, however, the series is in fours.[46] Though this point has not yet apparently been emphasized in a discussion of Chinese poetry, it may be stated in view of the majority of distich formations that the basic unit of even the four-line poems, and of Chinese poems in general, is the couplet.[47]

The use of parallelism in Chinese offers additional evidence relative to the origin and age of parallelism. The oldest

---

[44] "The Chinese are so fond of their parallelisms that the most common decorations of rooms, halls and temples, are ornamented labels hung opposite to each other, or side by side, and called Tuy-leen, which has precisely the meaning of the English term. These are sometimes inscribed on coloured paper, sometimes carved on wood, and distinguished by painting and gilding, but always in *pairs.*" Davis, p. 418.

[45] *Chinese Poems* (London, 1912), p. 21, in remarks on "Technique of Chinese Poetry."

[46] Bethge, *Die chinesische Floete* (Leipzig, 1910).

[47] A suggestion of a form in Chinese poetry similar to the long swinging lines of Arabic rhymed prose minus the rhyme, and similar to several lines in Amos 3.12, etc., may be found in the following instances:

> "From the Pine Forest the azure dragon ascends to the Milky Way;
> From the Dryandra cordata, the crimson phoenix aspires to the borders of the variegated clouds."

> "Experience and discernment of the human passions may both be called learning;
> Deep and clear insight into the ways of the world also constitute subtle genius."

> "Fame and ambition themselves must have their intervals of repose;
> Retirement and leisure are, after all, preferable to labor and anxiety."

There is the same correspondence of terms found in Arabic rhymed prose, and in several Hebrew passages; these passages seem to hover near the edge of prose.

authentic documents of Chinese poetry in which parallelism
appears are supposed to be nearly three thousand years old,
and even then the parallelism was so intricately developed that
it can hardly be called a primitive system. ''In no other lan-
guage could parallelism be carried to such heights as in Chinese;
the exact equality in the number of words which form each line
of a poetical couplet, and the almost total absence of recurring
particles that encumber European languages, admit of its adop-
tion with peculiar effect'' and its maintenance despite the rise
of metre and rhyme. The question needs analysis and careful
consideration to determine whether such parallelism represents
relatively a lower form of poetical evolution than the numerous
forms of Islamic poetry and of modern literature.

Japanese poetry, closely akin to Chinese, betrays a rather
frequent parallelism, but follows no regular method.[48] Its
essential rule is that every poem must consist of alternate lines
of five and seven syllables, with generally an extra line of seven
syllables to mark its close. The parallelism used in Japanese
poetry as an occasional ornament, suggests the use of the un-
rhymed trochaic measure of Hiawatha, which seems calculated
to give such parallel verses their due effect.[49] Examples of
Japanese parallelism are found scattered through many poems:

> I call her every day, till daylight fades away,
> I call her every night, till dawn restores the light.[50]

> All the mighty gods assembled,
> All the mighty gods held council,
> Thousand myriads held high council....

> O'er the middle land of Reed-plains,
> O'er the land of waving Rice-fields.[51]

Perhaps it was through the influence of the Chinese that
parallelism crept into the Japanese; it may be, however, that the
universal tendency towards some form of symmetrical structure,
despite the asymmetrical nature of Japanese poetry, dictated
its appearance therein.

---

[48] Chamberlain, p. 3.

[49] See remarks on Finnish poetry, p. 62, and on Hiawatha, p. 67.

[50] Chamberlain, p. 60; He and She; Song.

[51] *Ibid.*, Elegy on the death of Prince Hinami (689 A.D.), p. 71.

NEAR–EASTERN PARALLELISM

EGYPTIAN PARALLELISM

The similarity of Egyptian to Hebrew poetry has been noted by several investigators; so close is the affinity that the lay reader who meets with skilful translations of Egyptian poems will immediately associate them with biblical productions;[52] they are wholly unlike those of the majority of the western nations.[53] Though the history of the ancient Egyptians was written in a dry and uninteresting style, the poetry was more highly advanced;[54] it will be seen, however, that in general even the poetical compositions were restricted in scope and variety, and that they failed to attain the standards not only of Indo-Germanic peoples, but also of other Semitic peoples. For this relative sterility, the antiquity of Egyptian poetry is responsible.[55] Its beginnings are lost in the mists of the past; though the oldest monuments betray the existence of a literature fairly rich in images and language, it bears the stamp of primitive origins. Hence is it valuable in a comparative study of the historical background of Hebrew and other Semitic poetry.

---

[52] Ebers, ''Alliteration u. Reim in Altaegyptischen,'' *Nord und Sued,* I, 106. ''The old Egyptian can be compared with the Hebrew text minus punctuation''; also, ''Der Klang d. Altaegyptischen u. d. Reim,'' *Z. f. Aeg. Sprache,* XV (1877), p. 43.

[53] Budge, *Literature of the Ancient Egyptians* (London, 1914), p. 241.

[54] Stern, *Records of Past,* VI, 127; Rawlinson, *History of Ancient Egypt,* I, 132–133.

[55] Egyptian poetry soon became the victim of fixed laws, which com·pressed it into an immovable mould. The conservatism of the Orient restrained free expansion. See Wiedemann, ''Die Anfaenge dramatischer Poesie im alten Aegypten,'' *Mélanges Nicole* (Geneva, 1905), p. 562. In Mahaffy, *Prolegomena to Ancient History* (London, 1871), p. 411, the following strictures on Egyptian literary style occur: ''An honest critic must therefore confess that a sense of form in literature, such as the Greeks possessed so perfectly, is almost totally absent from Egyptian writings. Its symmetry consists in wearisome repetitions of formulae, while the poetry is a clumsy parallelism which so frequently wearies in Hebrew, but which is so often there, though seldom in Egyptian writings, the vehicle for striking effects. This absence of form is not a shock in the everyday letters or documents of judicial character, etc., but when we turn to the properly poetical or more especially those which treat of noble subjects we feel a very great inadequacy of the expression as compared with the thought.''

Metre exists in Egyptian poems; the short verses into which the poems fall seem to indicate this; since, however, only the consonants and not the vowels are known, it is impossible to state the character of this metre.[56]   A favorite device of old Egyptian is alliteration, a trait apparent in almost all early literatures.[57]   Rhyme also is present; this is not a regular recurrent rhyme at the end of the verses, but an ornament of poetical speech introduced because of the pleasing character of similar musical sounds, and the desire to bring into harmony the sound of the poetry and its sense.   The rhymes occur mostly in the magical, never in the narrative texts.[58]

Perhaps the earliest stage of Egyptian poetry was repetition. It abounds in identity of phrase and sound, both throughout complete sentences and in the opening and closing words of a line.   These repetitions must have comforted the Egyptian though they irritate the modern ear.   The custom became so popular that it finally was fixed as a law of poetry; a thought which in modern poetry is expressed merely through the verb, received in Egyptian its linguistic expression through the repetition of identical, or similar roots, first as a verb, then as a noun.[59]   This repetition, which at first may have been maintained in exactly the same words and forms over long periods of text, both in magical formulas, songs, incantations, and in prayers, later was varied and became incremental repetition; this incremental repetition, wherein part of the line was repeated, but either the end or the beginning was changed, contained the seed of parallelism in the same way that the repetition of the introductory or closing words of a verse was

---

[56] Erman, *Die aegyptische Literatur* in *Die orientalischen Literaturen* (Leipzig, 1906), p. 29.

[57] See Ebers, *Alliteration*, cited above; also Ebers, "Ein Strophisch-angeordneter Text von einer Mumienbinde," *Z. f. Aeg. Spr.*, XVI (1878), p. 50–51, gives numerous examples of alliteration.

[58] See Ebers, "Der Klang," p. 45.

[59] The poet does not say, "I smell," but "I smell the odor," or still better, "my nose smells the odor."   Reiteration is found on every side in Egyptian literature: see the Sepulchral Inscription of Panhesi, wherein phrases descriptive of the Sun God's triumphal progress through heaven are heaped up interminably; Stern, XII, 138; *Litany of Ra*, VIII, 103, 119, etc.; Wiedemann, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians* (London, 1897), p. 44.

the foundation for rhyme.[60]   Egyptian and, as will be seen, Babylonian-Assyrian and Sumerian poetry afford substantiation in the field of Semitic literatures for the theory that the chronological evolution of poetry is first, repetition, or reiteration; second, incremental repetition, and third, parallelism.

Egyptian poetry uses all three devices, particularly the last-named.   Its parallelism is "uralt"[61] and dominates Egyptian literature: "Wherever an Egyptian speaks in elevated style, the parallelism shows itself infallibly."   The poetry delighted in synonyms and antitheses; it even transcended Hebrew in its "rhythmic arrangements, in the balance of lines, the close correspondence of clause to clause and the strict observance of rhythmic laws."[62]   Breasted affirms, indeed, that parallelism is the usual form of Egyptian poetry.[63]

A special mechanical device distinguishes this poetry: red points stand at the end of each verse and mark the stichoi which are combined into couplets, triplets, or still larger groups.   In hymns to the gods, in songs of praise which celebrate the deeds of kings, and in similar compositions in hieroglyphic script, the stichoi are clearly divided; while in papyri in hieratic script the verse division through the red dots serves to show the chain of parallelism; the stichoi themselves are as patent as in the book of Job.   These red dots function also as musical marks for the support of the reciter or the singer.[64]   They are not always employed, however, in poetry: the Dirge of Menephtah is not divided by red dots, although it is clearly poetic in style.[65]

While nothing seems to be present in Egyptian comparable to the horizontal lines which in Assyrian-Babylonian parallelism mark off the couplets, rubric writing helps to mark off the

---

[60] Ebers, *Alliteration,* I, 110.

[61] Erman, *op. cit.,* p. 29.

[62] Stern, VI, 127.

[63] *Biblical World,* I, 55.

[64] The red points are referred to often in works on Egyptian literature: Spiegelberg, "Der Siegeshymnus des Merneptah," *Z. f. Aeg. Spr.,* XXXIV (1896), p. 1ff., illus., p. 10; Erman, "Gebete eines ungerecht Verfolgten u. andere Ostiake," *Z. f. Aeg. Spr.,* XXXVIII (1900), p. 19ff.; Turajeff, "Zwei Hymnen an Thoth," *Z. f. Aeg. Spr.,* XXXIII (1895), p. 120ff.   The red dots in this poem do not stand above the line as elsewhere; Cook, "Hymn to the Nile," *Rec. of Past,* IV, 105ff.

[65] Birch, "Dirge of Menephtah," *Rec. of Past,* IV, 49ff.

stanzas; and the regular formation of numerous poems points
to the use of regular strophic arrangements in ancient Egyptian
poems.   Between the various stanzas, there is rarely much inter-
parallelism, though there is much repetition and parallelism
within the confines of each strophe.[66]   Several poems character-
ized by stanzas do not show completely regular form; the number
of lines in each varies widely.   The Hymn to the Nile contains
fourteen stanzas, of ten stichoi each on the average, but the
number of lines ranges from eight to fourteen.[67]

Examples of the various types of parallelism are abundant.
Synonymous parallelism occurs oftentimes over long stretches,
though it appears most frequently in a mixture of the several
types.   One of the finest and longest hymns betraying parallel-
ism is the Hymn to Amon Ra which has come down from the
Twentieth Dynasty;[68] the parallelism here suggests the Hebrew,
but is not thoroughly maintained and is subject to great laxity.

> Lord of Power, he seizeth the sceptre,
> Lord of Protection who holdeth the scourge....
>
> He casteth down his enemies by flames of fire,
> His eye it is which overthroweth the wicked.
>
> The one is he who forms the existent,
> The sole one is he who fashions the substance.
>
> Men went forth from his eyes;
> Gods arose at the command of his lips.

---

[66] The Hymn to Amon-Ra falls into five unequal parts, and the strophes
are shown by the rubrics. See Stern, *Z. f. Aeg. Spr.* (1873), p. 76. Ebers,
ibid., XV, 51, says that the text falls into three sections, divided by an
external sign, and that each part contains five sections. Strophic formation
is also found in Ebers, "Ein strophisch-angeordneter Text von einer
Mumienbinde," *Z. f. Aeg. Spr.*, XVI (1878), pp. 50–55. See Wiedemann,
in *Mélanges Nicole*, pp. 569–570, on strophe and dance.

[67] Cook, *loc. cit.*   In this poem, the first word of each strophe is writ-
ten in red letters, and each also has a red point at the close.   The number
of lines in each of the fourteen stanzas runs thus: 11, 8, 8, 10, 10, 8, 10,
11, 12, 10, 9, 8, 14, 8.   Compare number of lines in Amos 1.2–2.6, below.
The resemblance of this poem to several of the earliest Hebrew poems has
been pointed out by Cook in his *Introduction to the Book of Psalms*, and
Notes on Exodus, in the *Speaker's Commentary on the Bible.*

[68] See Stern, *loc. cit.;* Goodwin, "Hymn to Amon-Ra," *Rec. of Past*,
II, 127ff.; it is supposed to date from the fourteenth century B.C. (Ebers,
Z. f. Aeg. Spr., XV, 45). For other examples see "The Stele of Beka,"
Rec. of Past, X, 7; "The Foundation of the Temple of the Sun of Heli-
opolis," *ibid.*, XII, 51ff.; Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt* (Chicago,
1906), 4 vols., *passim.*

An example of a poem from the Old Kingdom (third millennium B.C.) follows:

> No beggar was there in my days;
> No hungry in my time.

The Song of the Harper, composed in the Eighteenth Dynasty, is "very remarkable for the form of old Egyptian poetry which like that of the Hebrew delights in a sublimer language, in parallelisms and antitheses, and in the ornament of a burden"; it seems to be rhythmic, having verses of equal length;[69] examples taken from it at random, even through a rhymed translation, show the parallelism:

> As Ra rises up every morn,
> And Tum every evening doth set,
>
> So women conceive and bring forth,
> And men without ceasing beget,
>
> Each soul in its turn draweth breath,
> Each man born of woman sees Death.[70]

Examples of antithetic parallelism are frequent:

> His hands reward those whom he cherishes,
> But his enemy he plunges into the flames.[71]
>
> Ra is mighty, weak are the godless,
> Ra is exalted, lowly are the godless.

Synthetic parallelism is most frequent in Egyptian as in all other literatures in which the parallelistic *motif* is current, though often fairly close synonymity is present. The following example gives evidence of the interplay of couplet and triplet formation, while monostichs are also at hand:

---

[69] Stern, VI, 127.   The length of the verses can be seen from this transliteration:

> *Uréd urui pu mā*
> *Pa shau nefer kheper*
> *Khetu her sebt ter rek Rā*
> *Jamāu her at r ast-sen.*

See also Stern, *Z. f. Aeg. Spr.*, XI (1873), p. 58ff.; Duemichen. *Historische Inschriften*, II, 40; and others, among them Brugsch (see below).

[70] Rawlinson, I, 143.

[71] Compare Ps. 20.8, 9.   Several poems have refrains similar to the Psalms.

Honor his majesty in your hearts,

He is ''Sa'' of the hearts,
His eyes search each body,

He is the sun who sees with his rays,
He illuminates the two lands with the sundisk,

He makes verdant more than the great Nile,
He fills the two lands with strength,

He is the life which cools the nostrils,

He gives food to those who are in his train,
He nourishes those who follow his way.

He it is who causes what is,
He is the Chnum of each body.[72]

Again :

How gentle is this in the hearts of the people,
How beautiful is this before the gods.

Thou makest mountains of Osiris,
Thou adornest him who is before the dwellers of the West.

Excellent for his deeds,
Mighty in the naming of his name....

I gave the priests to know what concerned them,
I put right the ignorant of his ignorance.

I strengthen who were in terror,
I thrust back the evil from them.[73]

Though the synonymity and correspondence of terms is close here, other passages could be cited wherein the same species of constructive distich formation as in Hebrew obtains.

The question of synthetic parallelism bears upon the relation of Egyptian prose to poetry. The transition from one to the other seems to have been easy because of the looseness of Egyptian poetic structure. In a discussion of the hymns, Lefebure has remarked :[74] ''The Egyptians cared little for the composition of their poems; instead of grouping the details to produce a

---

[72] Translated by Breasted, *Biblical World*, I, 55. Compare Ps. 146.6–10.

[73] *Ibid.*, Hymn found in the Temple of Osiris at Abydos.

[74] *Traduction comparée des hymnes au soleil* (Paris, 1868), p. 15.

desired effect, they made scarcely any effort to combine them in any order; they follow the whims of the feeling and memory." Psychologically such stylistic transition may perhaps be related to another unaccountable peculiarity in Egyptian style, the practice of abrupt changes from the first or second to the third person, with as sudden a return from the third to the first or second, and an equally abrupt change of tense.[75] It is supposed that these startling transitions for which no discernible reason has been discovered, were viewed as elegances of style according to Egyptian taste. They occur largely in the more ambitious literary flights, and may have been a trait of the "fine writers." Mahaffy is of the opinion that the loose and haphazard character of Egyptian poetical construction may be a key to similar looseness in the Hebrew. He sees in Egyptian as in Hebrew compositions, the first step towards a loose blank verse and irregular caesuras. "These cadences are not necessary, but only occur when the author warms to his subject, just as the Hebrew authors pass from prose to poetry, a feature common to Indian and Chinese plays also."[76] Mahaffy may err in viewing parallelism as a stage prior to blank verse; it may be immediately prior to the unrhymed *saj'* of the Arabic, or also preliminary to rhymed and even strictly metrical verses, as Arabic poetry seems to demonstrate.[77] The erratic character of Egyptian parallelism raises another question: Was parallelism an instinctive or a cultivated *motif* among Egyptian poets? Psychologically it has been noted that a high state of lyric exaltation tends to produce balance and rhythmic repetition of thought. In Hebrew, it will be seen that the prophetic parallelism is at once apparently spontaneous and carefully chiselled. In Egyptian, it is probable that the poetry, being nearer to its primitive origins, embodies more of the unconscious element; it is difficult, however, to believe that in the well coördinated hymns and songs of praise, no deliberate artifice entered. It may be concluded then that Egyptian parallelism has emerged from the

---

[75] Birch, *Rec. of Past*, II, ii.

[76] Mahaffy, p. 412.

[77] See below, on the relation of rhymed prose to Hebrew parallelism, and to later Arabic metres.

instinctive stage, and has progressed along the scale of poetical evolution towards the finished and intricate Hebrew parallelism.[78]

At any rate, in the late Egyptian poetry of the Greek-Roman period Junker has found well developed devices in a number of texts which were hitherto regarded as stereotyped and formless. These small festal songs and hymns from Dendera show metre, strophe, and parallelism to a degree reached in only a few Egyptian compositions.   Refrains are present and responsion plays an important rôle.   The metre seems to be found in two, three, and four stresses or accents, though it is difficult to discover the laws which govern it.[79]

An example of four two-line strophes, with a two-line refrain, wherein parallelism is consistently maintained, the verses having two stresses, is present in the following:

> The Pharaoh comes to dance,
> He comes to sing (to you).
> > OH, HIS MISTRESS, SEE HOW HE DANCES,
> > OH, BRIDE OF THE HORUS, SEE HOW HE SKIPS.
> The Pharaoh whose hands are washed,
> Whose fingers are clean.
> > OH, HIS MISTRESS, SEE HOW HE DANCES,
> > OH, BRIDE OF THE HORUS, SEE HOW HE SKIPS.
> When he sacrifices it to you,
> This *mnw*-vessel,
> > OH, HIS MISTRESS, SEE HOW HE DANCES,
> > OH, BRIDE OF THE HORUS, SEE HOW HE SKIPS.
> His heart is true, upright his body,
> No darkness is in his breast,
> > OH, HIS MISTRESS, SEE HOW HE DANCES,
> > OH, BRIDE OF THE HORUS, SEE HOW HE SKIPS.

An example of Egyptian repetition with incremental changes is found in this:

> His abhorrence is the sadness of your Ka,
> His abhorrence is your hunger and thirst,
> His abhorrence is the pain of the Sun-Goddess.

---

[78] Parallelism assists in the exegesis of Egyptian poetry.   It is often employed for this purpose: Breasted, *De Hymnis in Solem* (Berlin, 1894), pp. 4–5; Brugsch, ''Das Gedicht vom Harfenspieler,'' *Z. f. Aeg. Spr.*, XXXII (1894), 123–134; Spiegelberg, *Z. f. Aeg. Spr.*, XXXIV (1896), 18.

[79] Junker, ''Poesie aus der Spaetzeit,'' *Z. f. Aeg. Spr.*, XLIII (1906), 101ff.

An example of a refrain at the head of the stanza, so that in a
sense it becomes a formula, may be found herein:

> HE COMES TO DANCE,
> HE COMES TO SING,
>> With his bread in his hand,
>> He does not let spoil the bread on his hand,
>> His food is clean in his arms,
>> For it comes from the eye of Horus,
>> And he cleanses his sacrifice to you.
> HE COMES TO DANCE,
> HE COMES TO SING,
>> His *dbh.t* is of *twn*,
>> His basket is of rushes,
>> His sistrum of gold,
>> His *mnl.t* of southern green stone;
>> His feet hurry to the mistress of the jubilation,
>> He dances for her, and she likes what he does.[80]

The following is a Procession Song which has survived in
fragmentary form; it consisted originally of stanzas in each of
which an antiphonal couplet preceded a quatrain, and couplets
and quatrains respectively began with the same word. Of the
four parallel verses of the strophes, the last three contain the
explanation and continuation of the first. The verses have
three stresses, excepting the last of each strophe, which has
only two. Junker makes use of parallelism and interparallelism
to fill up some of the great gaps in the poem; though the parts
which have survived do not suffice to afford a basis for recon-
struction, it is easy to see that the structure of the mutilated
stanzas, three and four, agrees with stanzas one and two.[81] This
general principle is helpful in a reconstruction of the Amos
Doom Song on the basis of stanzas of equal length and type.

> 1. Oh how fine and pleasant when the Golden One thrives,
>> When the Golden One blooms and thrives.
>>> To YOU JUBILATES the Heaven with its Gods,
>>> Both Sun and Moon adore you.
>>> The Gods pay honor to you,
>>> The Goddesses sing joyfully to you.

---

[80] *Ibid.*, Fourth section of a song series in honor of the Goddess of
Wine, p. 104.

[81] *Ibid.*, p. 127. As the song stands, the third and fourth stanzas
have three instead of four main lines as in the first and second.

2. Oh how   .   .   .   .
.   .   .   .
  To YOU JUBILATES the whole globe;
  In joy all animals dance;
  Egypt and the lands adore you,
  Even unto Nenet at its four ends.

3. Oh how   .   .   .   .
.   .   .   .
  To YOU JUBILATE   .   .   .   .
.   .   .   .
  To you shout the foreign lands.

4. Oh how   .   .   .   .
.   .   .   .
  To YOU JUBILATE all men,
.   .   .   .
.   .   .   .

SUMERIAN PARALLELISM

In the Sumerian literature which forms much of the liturgy of the Babylonian religion, parallelism appears.[82]   These Sumerian texts, some of which date back nearly to 2900 B.C., are similar in style to many Egyptian compositions.   The interplay of repetition, incremental repetition, and parallelism tends to place Sumerian poetry low in the scale of historical evolution; in the character of its parallelism, however, it stands slightly higher than the Egyptian, for the couplet formation which is frequent in the later Babylonian-Assyrian, now begins to make itself clear and definite.[83]

The unending repetitions of Sumerian literature are perhaps its most noticeable characteristic: in the adorations, where terms of praise are heaped up, while the refrains occur for long periods in identically the same words; in the incantations and magical texts, where repetitions are most numerous; in the hymns, where

---

[82] For examples of parallelism in Sumerian literature, see Haupt, ''Die Sumerisch-Akkadische Sprache,'' *Intern. Orient. Cong.* (Berlin, 1881) I, 2, 273; Vanderburgh, *Sumerian Hymns* (New York, 1908), *passim.*   Reisner, *Sumerische-Babylonische Hymnen* (Berlin, 1896), *passim.*

[83] Parallelism in the Sumerian is striking in view of the fact that it may be a non-Semitic language, though of course deeply influenced by Semitic civilization.   Hymn to Adad, Vanderburgh, p. 42.   Langdon, *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms* (Paris, 1909); also *Babylonian Liturgies* (Paris, 1913), p. 59.

incremental repetition with variation at the beginning or the end of the lines is a regular trait.

> The lofty one—when he bellowed, he shattered the mountain,
> The lofty one—when he bellowed, he shattered the mountain,
> He named of good name—when he bellowed, he shattered the mountain,
> The Recorder of the Universe—when he bellowed, he shattered the mountain.[84]

Examples of incremental repetition are plentiful. The following is taken from an incantation with ethical contents:

> Has he set a son at variance with a father?
> Has he set a father at variance with a son?
>
> Has he set a daughter at variance with a mother?
> Has he set a mother at variance with a daughter?
>
> Has he set a daughter-in-law at variance with a mother-in-law?
> Has he set a mother-in-law at variance with a daughter-in-law?[85]
>
> Has he set a brother at variance with a brother?
> Has he set a friend at variance with a friend?
> Has he set a companion at variance with a companion?
>
> Has he not set free a prisoner, or loosed a captive?
> Has he not let a prisoner see the light?
> Has he said of a prisoner, "Seize him" or of a bondman, "Bind him"?

Identical refrains or endings are frequent; as in the first quotation cited, and as in the Hymn to Tammuz:[86]

> I am queen, my consort   abides no more,
> My Damu   abides no more,
> Dagalushumgalanna   abides no more,
> The lord of Aralu   abides no more,
> The lord of Durgurgurru   abides no more,

and so forth, twelve times in all.

Though the couplet structure and triplet combinations seem to adhere at moments to some regularity, distichs wherein the second stichos repeats in different words and varied images the

---

[84] Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament* (New York, 1912), p. 171.

[85] Note the inversion here which the Arabic '*aks* employs. See below.

[86] Rogers, p. 183.

thought of the first, after the fashion of the eloquent Hebrew style, are relatively rare.   Here is an isolated example:

> Since the canal is gone, the flood overflows,
> Since the clay is gone, the shore is destroyed.[87]

The development of the Sumerian liturgy appears to have traversed many centuries.   The *shir* originally was sung to musical instruments, and was marked by insistently repeated refrains, and a certain rhythmical *motif* which served to distinguish it from prose.   At first the liturgies consisted of a single song, but these later gave way to a succession of shorter melodies.   In early worship, it appears to have been customary to bow and sway the body; perhaps this may have assisted in the development of a rhythmical distich formation.   Double and single lines served to mark off the divisions of the songs, but these have no relation to couplet or strophic divisional marks, such as the horizontal lines found later in Babylonian-Assyrian; they were rather musical aids.   The Sumerian liturgy seems to reveal an effort towards metre; each line is an element in itself, perhaps the basis for the later usage both in the Babylonian-Assyrian, and Hebrew poetry.   Lines were sometimes divided into hemistichs; but no regular system of prosody appears to have existed.[88]   Clearly then the Sumerian literature deserves recognition as the forerunner of Babylonian-Assyrian; but the uncertainty which enshrouds its various phenomena permits only an indication of the direction in which its evolution tended.

BABYLONIAN-ASSYRIAN PARALLELISM

The wealth of material at hand in the Babylonian-Assyrian literature, however, makes it possible to lay down certain general laws of poetics and prosody.   In it both rhyme and alliteration are used.[89]   Metre and strophe are present, and will be discussed below.   Of primary importance here, however, is the abundant use of parallelism.[90]

---

[87] Langdon, *Babyl. Liturgies,* p. 117.

[88] *Ibid.,* Introduction, p. xlvff.

[89] Budge, ''Communication upon the Fourth Tablet of the Creation Series,'' *PSBA,* VI (1884), 5–9; Casanowicz, *Paronomasia in the Olden Times* (Boston, 1894), p. 24.

[90] It is not generally known that one of the first to note parallelism in Assyrian-Babylonian was Eberhard Schrader in *Die Hoellenfahrt der*

The original inscriptions of Babylonian-Assyrian civilization clearly show the form of poetical works, whereas it has been necessary in the Hebrew to discover it by direct and difficult means. The hymns, prayers, and epic poetry are so written on the tablets that the various types of poetic structure at once become apparent to the eye. In the first place, each verse is written as one complete line; these individual stichoi are shown to be in relation to the preceding or following verse by symmetry and proximity.[91]

The second important fact in tablet-writing is that oftentimes two stichoi of poetry are marked off by a horizontal line from other verse-pairs or couplets which are similarly combined. This division into distichs and oftentimes into tristichs was a favorite device with the Babylonians.[92] Many monuments show this mechanical designation of poetry, and several illustrations in works on Babylonian and Assyrian hymns have reproduced the phenomenon.[93] Several questions arise, however, in connection with its extensive usage. It is found in many bilingual

Istar (Giessen, 1874); also in ''Semitismus und Babylonismus: Zur Frage nach d. Ursprung des Hebraismus,'' *Jahrb. f. Protest. Theol.*, I, 116ff. Heinrich Gunkel's work on *Schoepfung und Chaos* (Goettingen, 1895), p. 401, n. 1, brought the question of parallelism and metre to the attention of Heinrich Zimmern whose numerous essays and books have presented the results of careful investigation on the two points. See ''Ein vorlaeufiges Wort ueber Babyl. Metrik,'' *ZA*, VIII, 121; X, 1, 292; XI, 83, 339; XII, 382. Zimmern's suggestion, *ZA*, VIII, 122, that editors and translators should show graphically the parallelism, metre, and strophes of poems has found echo in the work of several writers: Pinckert, *Hymnen und Gebeten an Nebo* (Leipzig, 1907), p. 13; Jensen, ''Assyr.-Babyl. Mythen und Epen,'' *Keilinschrif. Bibliothek*, VI, Teil 1, s. xiii; Martin, *Textes religieux assyriens et babyl., Biblioth. de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes*, CXXX (1900), p. xxii; Hussey, *Some Sumerian-Babylonian Hymns of the Berlin Collection* (Chicago, 1907), p. 13; Gray, *The Šamaš Religious Texts* (Univ. of Chicago, 1908), p. 11: ''Throughout the hymn is found a parallelism which is strikingly similar to the parallelism of the Hebrew poetry, and which corresponds in general to the paragraphs.''

[91] Zimmern, *ZA*, VIII, 123.

[92] Zimmern, *ZA*, XI, 87.

[93] Bruennow, ''Assyrian Hymns,'' *ZA*, IV, 1ff.; V, 55ff.; these two hymns to Shamash and Merodach, and a hymn to Nebo, and various smaller fragments ''belong to a well-marked class, the distinctive feature of which is the horizontal line, occurring after every second or occasionally third line of the text, and generally, though not always marking divisions in the sense.'' Bruennow's translations, however, do not demonstrate this practice. See also Craig, *Assyrian and Babylonian Religious Texts* (Leipzig. 1895), I, *passim*. It is found on tablets, K. 3474, 8232, 3312, 3182, 2650, 8233, 3459, 8298, 8236, etc.

hymns, the first line being Sumerian, and hence non-Semitic, the second line Assyrian. Did then this practice arise through the repetition of the same thought in different languages; moreover, did Babylonian-Assyrian parallelism originate from the same custom? This hypothesis is weak, for in reply it may be said that the horizontal lines occur most frequently where the two stichoi are in the Assyrian language, and where the thought though the same, is expressed in different terms in each stichos. Again it must be noted that the horizontal lines are used not merely to designate couplet and triplet divisions, but oftentimes they mark off groups of two, three, four, five and more lines;[94] though in several tablets they occur with such regularity at the end of every two lines that the inscriptions have an almost striped appearance, and though in others they mark off equal strophes at regular intervals, at times they are employed indiscriminately without scheme or plan. It may however be asked: Since the Babylonian-Assyrian originals used dividing lines to mark off distichs and larger combinations, may not the originals of Hebrew poetry, even including prophetic literature, have had a similar device to differentiate poetry from prose, and above all to mark off the couplets and strophes?

The question of the unit of Babylonian poetry has concerned several investigators. It is evident that strophes exist in the compositions.[95] Oftentimes these are indicated by the open spaces between the various stanzas, as well as by horizontal lines.[96] Mueller busies himself with strophes of six, eight, ten, and twelve lines, and neglects entirely the couplet; for him, the normal strophe consists of eight lines.[97] Delitzsch regards the

---

[94] In Craig's editions, II (1897), 14, lines are used in K. 255, obv. col., I, in the arrangement of $4 + 2 + 4 + 2 + 4$, etc., evidently a regular strophic arrangement built upon the couplet as a unit. But in K. 255 rev. col., I, the combination is $8 + 5 + 5 + 3 + 1$.

[95] Zimmern, *Babylonische Busspsalmen* (Leipzig, 1885), p. 66; Lenormant, *Essai de commentaire des fragments cosmogoniques de Berose* (Paris, 1872), p. 458; Haupt, "Die Akkadische Sprache," p. xxxv to p. 25. Perhaps the most significant works are Mueller, *Die Propheten in ihrer urspruenglichen Form: I. Strophenbau und Responsion in der Keilschriftliteratur* (Vienna, 1896); Delitzsch, *Die babyl. Weltschoepfungsepos* (Leipzig, 1896), *Abh. d. phil-hist. Classe d. k. saechs. Ges. d. Wiss.*, XVII, Num. 11, *passim*.

[96] Delitzsch, p. 68.

[97] Mueller, p. 8.

four-line strophe as the basic form; where without artificiality a
complete strophe is not possible, half-strophes of one plus one
stichoi may be formed but these, he says, are soon compensated
by a second half-strophe if they stand in the midst of a longer
strophic arrangement.   He groups his text in four stichic com-
binations, and pays little heed to the couplet.

Zimmern takes issue with both Delitzsch and Mueller.   Not
in strophes, which afford only accidental evidence, but in the
verse and the distich is the real basis of Babylonian poetical
forms to be found.   Mueller overestimates the part which the
eight-line strophe plays in the Creation Epic; Delitzsch also
ignores the obvious couplet structure of this poem; Zimmern
asserts that the distich combination is vital for a proper under-
standing of the text.   Herein the *motif* of parallelism plays an
all-important rôle.   The tablets show the horizontal lines which
designate the couplets only when the two stichoi are bound
together by inner reasons, of sense and thought-rhythm.[98]   This
makes an appreciation of parallelism imperative for an under-
standing of the meaning of the lines, for the synonymous, anti-
thetic, or synthetic relation of the first to the second stichos is
a key to an interpretation of the text.   From the standpoint
of thought, it is apparent that the couplet is the fundamental
unit of Babylonian-Assyrian, as it will be found to be of the
Hebrew poetry; it must be remembered however that couplets do
not follow each other in unbroken succession, for as the hori-
zontal lines and internal data prove, various larger combinations
are not only possible but frequent.

From the standpoint of metre, however, the unit of the poetry
is discoverable in the hemistich.   Each distich is made up of
four quarters; each of these four parts has two tonal accents,
or stresses.   This quartering is often portrayed by the mechan-
ical device of perpendicular lines dividing each hemistich.[99]   It
seems certain that the Babylonians employed consciously a
regular metrical scheme, and that they counted and correctly
apportioned the number of accents in each hemistich.   The tonic

---

[98] Zimmern, *ZA*, XI, 86ff.
[99] Gunkel, p. 401, n. 1; this occurs on the original tablet (London,
Sp. II, 265 a.).   See Zimmern, *ZA*, VIII, 121ff.

accentuation stands in close agreement with the Hebrew and Aramaic methods, and in the strongest contrast to the classical Arabic.[100] The progress of the scheme of Assyrian-Babylonian poetry seems then to be from the hemistich to the stichos, to the couplet or distich, to the strophe or multistich.

Examples of the various types of parallelism are numerous.[101] Synonymous parallelism is found thus:

> Where is thy name not heard? Where not thy decrees?
> Where are thy images not made? Where are thy temples not founded?

> Where art thou not great? Where art thou not exalted?

> Anu, Ellil, and Ea have exalted thee,
> Among the gods have they increased thy dominion.[102]

Examples of antithetic parallelism can be found frequently; the following is taken from the so-called Babylonian Job:

In a moment	he is singing and playing,
In an instant	he is howling like a complainer.

Now they are hungry	and are like a corpse,
Again they are full	and are like unto God.[103]

---

[100] Zimmern, *ZA*, XII, 384. He believes also that the similarity of Assyrian-Babylonian metre to the Hebrew may assist in the solution of the riddle of Hebrew verse-construction. See Gray, *Forms of Hebrew Poetry*, p. 140ff. Martin, p. xxii, discusses the various lengths of the hemistichs; he shows that the two hemistichs are sometimes unequal in length, the shorter being the second, the longer the first. See Zimmern, "Ueber Rhythmus im Babylonischen," *ZA*, XII, 382ff; also "Babyl. Hymnen und Gebete," *Der alte Orient*, VII, 5; and *Beitraege zur Kenntnis d. babylonischen Religion* (Leipzig, 1901). Delitzsch, p. 61ff., gives four laws for metrical arrangement of the hemistichs:

  1. Each line falls into two half-lines.
  2. The second hemistichs are subject to a stricter rhythmical law than the first.
  3. The law of the second hemistichs is that they shall have not more than two main accents, consisting of two accented syllables, whether long or closed (a vowel followed by two consonants).
  4. The first half-verses are subject to a less strict rhythmical law: (a) for some, the rule of the second hemistichs is also operative, namely, the demand for two main accents; (b) but the first hemistich can also have three main accents.

[101] Zimmern, "Babyl. Hymnen," *Der alte Orient*, VII, 1905; XIII, 1911. For a bibliography, see Bezold, *Babyl.-Assyr. Litteratur* (Leipzig, 1886), pp. 171–186; Zimmern, *Der alte Orient*, XIII, 32; Koenig, *Stilistik, Rhetorik, Poetik* (Leipzig, 1900); p. 311. Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels*, gives excellent translations of many hymns, incantations and epics.

[102] Rogers, p. 154, Hymn to Ishtar; see also p. 159.

[103] *Ibid.*, p. 164–165.

Examples of synthetic parallelism intermingle with regular synonymous parallelism:

> The sewers of the city shall be thy drink,
> The shadows of the walls shall be thy dwelling,
> The thresholds shall be thy habitation,
> The drunken and the thirsty shall smite thy cheek.[104]

Oftentimes there is a kind of alternate parallelism:

> In a dispute   when I take part
>   The woman who understands *piltum*   am I;
> In a law suit   when I take part
>   The woman who understands the law   am I.[105]

This is a sign of elementary strophic interparallelistic structure, which is found highly developed in other poems. Several acrostic hymns are at hand, comparable to the Psalms.[106]   The practice of antiphonal singing was apparently common, and gave rise to hymns wherein refrains were maintained in identical words for long periods.   These repetitions resemble several of the incantation refrains common in Egyptian poetry.   The processional Hymn to Marduk was sung antiphonally, the priest singing the first half, the people responding with the recurrent refrain:

> The city cries out to thee ''Rest,'' may thy house rejoice in thee.
> Babylon cries out to thee ''Rest,'' may thy house rejoice in thee.

> The great Anu, father of the gods, cries out to thee ''Rest at last.''
> May the mighty mountain, father Bel, cry to thee ''Rest at last.''[107]

Schrader cites several examples of liturgical songs in the Temple which he affirms were sung antiphonally; the following is the Song of the Seven Spirits:

> (Strophe)
> Seven are they, seven are they,
> In the sea's deep, seven are they
> In the sky's blue, seven are they,
> In the sea, far down, their birth.

---

[104] *Ibid.*, p. 128, Ishtar's Descent to Hades.   See Schrader, *Die Hoellenfahrt, passim;* Jeremais, *Die Babyl.-assyr. Vorstellung v. Leben nach dem Tode* (Leipzig, 1887), p. 9.

[105] Hussey, p. 13.

[106] Zimmern, *ZA*, X, 15; see Bezold, *Catalogue*, p. 905 with reference to K. 8204, and p. 1549; Pinches, *Texts*, p. 15f.

[107] The word ''Rest'' here and elsewhere in the hymn is an abbreviation of the words of the old formula in the incantation texts, ''May thy heart be appeased.''   The hymn was sung after the manner of the Hallel Psalms.

(Alternate Strophe)
Not male are they, not female they,
Wife they take not, son they have not,
Both law and order know they not,
To prayers and wishes hark they not.

(End Strophe)
Seven are they, seven are they,
The Seven Adisina they.[108]

Another example of highly developed strophic structure, wherein the parallelism is perfect, is the hymn :

(Strophe)
Who is sublime in the skies?
　Thou alone, thou art sublime;
Who is sublime upon earth?
　Thou alone, thou art sublime.

(Alternate Strophe)
Thy mighty command is proclaimed in the skies,
　The Gods then prostrate themselves;
Thy mighty command is proclaimed upon earth,
　The Spirits then kiss the ground.[109]

Two major questions are involved in a discussion of Assyrian-Babylonian parallelism.　The first concerns the regularity of the couplet formation.　Despite imperfections and corruptions of the texts, it is certain that regular couplets are maintained for fairly long intervals.　The number of unattached or floating monostichs, also, is very large; they creep into the poems at the most unexpected places, and interrupt the regularity without any law or scheme.　Though in several instances complementary or corresponding lines have disappeared because of text mutilation, nevertheless it must be admitted that as in Hebrew, unaccountably placed lines appear in otherwise regular structure.[110]　Again, as in Hebrew, several lines contain a heaping-up

---

[108] Schrader, *Hoellenfahrt*, p. 110–115.　The first strophes may have been sung by half-choirs, and the closing strophes by the general choir.

[109] Schrader, pp. 111–115, calls attention to the ''specifically Hebrew'' strophic system.　He links (pp. 85–86) the highly developed strophical scheme with the advanced Babylonian civilization as Ewald had done with the Hebrew strophe in relation to Hebrew culture.　The part played by magical incantations and formulas in the development of the strophe and parallelism is as significant in Babylonian-Assyrian as in Egyptian, Finnish, and other literatures.

[110] See the isolated stichoi in Amos, below.　Martin, p. xxviii, says: ''These combinations, too irregular to deserve the name of strophe, do

of terms, especially of nouns, complementary to the subject in
the first stichos of a couplet:

> O Shamash, he who goes his way in fear prays to thee,
> (. . . .), the traveler, the tradesman, he who carries the weights.

> O Shamash, the hunter with the net prays to thee,
> - The hunter (?), the cattle-man, the tender of herbs.

The second problem concerns the relation of poetry to prose.
As in the Bible,[111] verses are found not merely in the hymns, the
epics, and other texts of obviously poetical character, but also
in the historical texts of "elevated style." An example may
be found in the Shamashshumukin tablet of Assurbanapal.[112]
It may be that these poetical sections were quoted from other
poems; yet on the other hand, the occasional presence of what
seems to be rhythm in historical narratives, points to the authen-
ticity of poetical sections as native to an apparently prose
work.[113] Though on occasion, Babylonian parallelism may be
the result of no conscious artistic process, but the natural
outcome of rhythmically exalted speech,[114] its presence in com-
positions of patently prosaic character, or under the spell of
no great poetic emotion, is proof that it was a deliberate and
recognized poetical device. It may be concluded that in Baby-
lonian-Assyrian as in Hebrew, there is a mixture of poetry and
prose, wherein the limits of the former are more or less deter-
mined by mechanical aids; but the widespread character of
synthetic parallelism, and the narrative character of several
poetical epics, permit the conclusion that the interplay of poetry
and prose is almost as intricate and indefinable as in Hebrew.

A word may be said on the value of parallelism for exegesis.[115]

---

not seem to be inspired by any rule of prosody." They seem to have
had no other rule than the development, more or less long, given by the
scribe to his thought.

111 See II K. 8.12, etc.

112 Zimmern, *ZA*, VIII, 123; IX, 338–339.

113 Jeremias, p. 9.

114 Schrader, p. 60, compares the stichic form of the poem on Ishtar's
Journey, to the writing of the Song in Deut., chap. 32. See also West-
phal, *Allgemeine Theorie der musikalischen Rhythmik* (Leipzig, 1880), p. 37.

115 Dhorme, *Textes religieux assyro-babyloniens* (Paris, 1907), p. 4,
and *passim;* Martin, pp. 24, 48; Zimmern, *Busspsalmen*, pp. 12–13, 24,
42, 43, 99, 104, and *passim;* an emendation on p. 97 is "confirmed by the
parallelism." See also *ZA*, XI, 335, 339.

An example of the assistance which it renders in the decipherment of mutilated or dubious words may be found in this selection:

> For food, I will eat the clay,
> For drink, I will drink (the water)

> That I may weep for the men who have left their wives,
> That I may weep for the women (torn) from their husbands' bosoms,
> That I may weep for the little children (snatched away before) their day.[116]

The relation of Babylonian to the origin of Hebrew parallelism will be discussed below.[117]

ARABIC PARALLELISM

CLASSICAL (INCLUDING PERSIAN AND TURKISH)

The close relationship between Arabic and Hebrew literature has often been noted.[118] Though the Hebrews attained a high grade of ·civilization over 1500 years before the Arabs became productive, the cultures of the two show traces of primitive union: the poetry of the ancient desert tribes resembles the measures of the earliest Hebrew heroes and heroines. In both literatures, the original type of poetic utterance seems to have been the ode, the song of joy, sorrow, thankfulness, or prayer; and may have been a species of improvised utterance common to both these branches of the Semitic race.[119]

The forms of Hebrew and of Arabic poetry show signs of similarity. Arabic poetry in itself represents a long historical process; the steps by which it advanced from primeval beginnings to the most intricate and elaborate forms reflect the evolution of poetry as a whole. Hebrew poetry, however, ceased to expand according to its own native genius after the second or third century of the common era, and must be regarded from

---

[116] Rogers, p. 123.

[117] See p. 117.

[118] Jones, *Poeseos Asiaticae commentariorium libri sex* (London, 1774), pp. 25–65; Wenrich, *De poeseos Hebraicae atque Arabicae origine* (Leipzig, 1843), *passim.* Ewald, *De Metris Carminum Arabicorum* (Brunswick, 1825), p. 96; De Ritis, *I Metri Arabi* (Naples, 1833), I, 82; Steiner, *Ueber hebraeische Poesie* (Basel, 1873), pp. 12, 25.

[119] Chenery, *Assemblies of Al Hariri* (London, 1867), I, 45.

the viewpoint of form as a relatively primitive class of literature. The multitude and variety of later Arabic poetic and rhetorical forms have rendered it difficult to select any one as dominantly characteristic; while the scarcity of primitive Arabic poems, contemporaneous with the original Hebrew compositions, has made it hard to discern the fundamental rules of prosody and poetics which govern them. Hence the presence of parallelism, the outstanding trait of Hebrew poetry,[120] has been in the Arabic alternately championed and disputed.[121] It is therefore necessary to reëxamine the Islamic literatures in an endeavor to determine whether parallelism is to be found therein. For this task investigation in Arabic poetry is not sufficient; Mohammedan-Persian literature, which is based upon Arabic poetical canons, and also Ottoman poetry, which is indebted both to the Arabic and the Persian, offer fruitful evidence. It is advisable to group these three under one classification, though minor variations between them exist.

Repetition in Islamic poetry must first be noted. It may be categorically affirmed that repetitions after the manner of the Egyptian, the Sumerian and the Babylonian-Assyrian poetry are absent from the Arabic; but a close approach to repetition is found in the rhetorical device called '*aks* "inversion." Here two parts of a distich are so arranged that the same words which begin a sentence are reversed to conclude it; in its various manifestations, it sometimes takes on parallelistic character. In the Arabic, this example may be cited:

> And their black hair became white,
> And their white countenance black.[122]

---

[120] Perhaps the first investigator to note parallelism as such in the Arabic was Schleusner, *Dissertatio*, p. 11; but Schrader, due to the deficiencies of his Arabic scholarship, affirmed a century later in 1875 that no parallelism existed in Islamic poetry. Though he expresses wonder at its absence among those tribes most protected from foreign influence, still this agrees with his preconceived theory of the non-Semitic origin of parallelism, which he attributes to the ancient Akkadians. Mueller however, in his discussion of the strophic structure of the Koran, asserts that the main characteristics of the verses and also the multistichs and strophes are parallelism and antithesis.

[121] *Die Propheten*, p. 59.

[122] Mehren, *Die Rhetorik der Araber* (Vienna, 1853), p. 104.

From the Persian :

> In your countenance, I beheld the beauty of which I had heard,
> That beauty of which I had heard, in your countenance I beheld.[123]

From the Ottoman :

> The season of youth is the time to acquire knowledge;
> The time to acquire knowledge is the season of youth.[124]

Sometimes the words are read both backwards and forwards, in the manner of the anagram, excepting that there letters, and here whole words are transposed :

> You possess money and you possess liberality;
> Liberality you possess and money you possess.[125]

It can be seen here at once, however, that the device is not built upon repetition, but upon inversion.[126]

Another form of repetition or reiteration is found in the *mukarrar*, a form of paronomasia, wherein a word is repeated in the same distich as hemistich. Though parallelism is not necessarily attendant upon the *mukarrar*, these examples are clearly marked by it :

> Whosoever seeks something and exerts himself, will find it.
> Whosoever knocks on a door and perseveres, will enter.[127]

From the Persian :

> Your cheeks resemble two leaves, and each leaf is the sun;
> Your hair hangs in ringlets, and each ringlet is a cord.
>
> From envy of these leaves, the leaves of the rose are expanded;
> From envy of those ringlets, the spikenard becomes twisted.[128]

---

[123] Gladwin, *On the Rhetoric, Prosody, and Rhyme of the Persians* (Calcutta, 1801), *passim;* Rueckert-Pertsch, *Grammatik, Poetik und Rhetorik der Perser* (Gotha, 1874), *passim.*

[124] Gibbs, *History of Ottoman Poetry* (London, 1900), 5 vols., *passim.*

[125] Gladwin, p. 27.   An example of the manner in which good parallelism may occur in this formation can be seen in this quotation:
"In liberality you are Hatem, in dignity you are Caesar;
In command you are Asaf; in argument you are Jesus."
Reversed it becomes:
"You are Jesus in argument; you are Asaf in command;
You are Caesar in dignity, you are Hatem in liberality."

[126] Gibbs, I, 115.   He mentions also the *tard u'aks* or *epandos* which consists in forming the second line or a distich from the reversed halves of the first line, as in the example quoted.   Sometimes the conversion is "perfect" and sometimes "imperfect."   As an example of this same usage in English poetry, Gibbs quotes Milton:
"O more exceeding love or law more just,
Just law indeed, but more exceeding love."

[127] Mehren, p. 160.   The paronomasia does not become apparent in the translations.

[128] Gladwin, p. 28.

An even closer approach to parallelism is found in some of
the varieties of the *tajnīs* motif, also a form of paronomasia.[129]
It occurs when the author employs in verse or prose, two or more
words resembling each other in their letters, but having different
meanings.   Oftentimes the general effect is of parallelism,
especially where the *motif* occurs in a distich.   The *tajnīs tāmm*
or "perfect similarity and homogeneity," occurring when two
words of different meaning have the same sound and form,
without any variations of the vowel points, creates several par-
allelistic couplets, of which this is a type:

> If I compare your cheek to the rose, I committed a mistake;
> And if I called your hair musk of Tartary, I uttered an impro-
> priety.[130]

Among the varieties of imperfect similarity, couplets of
parallelism occur, but not so frequently.   The *jinās al-qalb*
contains an inversion and antithesis, apparent in this couplet
of Ahnaf:

> In your sword victory for your friends is prepared;
> In your lance death for your enemies.[131]

A Turkish example of the *jinās muχarraf* or "altered similar-
ity," wherein the letters of the terms are all alike except that
the vowel points differ, is present here:

> The fame of her beauty increaseth in the city;
> The praise of her rose-cheek is the theme of every tongue.[132]

Another rhetorical device which approaches but does not
attain parallelism is found in the *taqsīm* or "division," a term
applied also to mathematical division in the works of Euclid.
That it was taken to mean a species of parallelism can be under-
stood from a comment of Thaʻalibi on the style of Mutannabi
that among the beautiful and original features of his works he
employed the *taqsīm*, thus dividing his sentences into parallel
parts:

> We were in gladness, the Greeks in fear;
> The land in bustle, the sea in confusion.[133]

---

[129] Mehren, p. 154ff.
[130] Gladwin, p. 6ff.
[131] Mehren, p. 158.
[132] Gibbs, p. 116.
[133] Nicholson, *Literary History of the Arabs* (New York, 1907),
p. 311; Dieterici, *Mutanabbi und Seifuddaula aus der Edelperle des*

But closer examination of other examples betrays the fact that *taqsīm* is not genuine parallelism : in a hemistich, or a stichos, the poet recites several particulars, and afterwards in another hemistich or stichos, introduces some others in connection with them, and assigns each to each regularly :

> I am pleased with love and wine because they are not friends;
> Neither love with the libidinous, nor wine with the lips of the pious man.[134]

In a sense, this *motif* produces a triplet formation, of which the first stichos is long, and the other two are shorter; parallelism lying only between them, and not involving the first :

> A soul and a heart I had as profit from the means of existence;
> A stealthy glance took the latter;
> Your flattery stole the former.[135]

Several other rhetorical devices of the poetry of the Islamic literatures might be cited as near-parallelism, but they are deliberate and conscious poetic devices; they are chiselled out by a careful method, and lack the spontaneity and freedom of Hebrew parallelism.   Moreover they are historically late, and none suffice to indicate the path to a solution of the question whether the Arabic contains genuine, sustained and regular parallelism, similar to the Hebrew.   It is therefore necessary to turn back

---

Tsaâlibi (Leipzig, 1847), p. 72. Tha'alibi introduces as confirmation of his judgment the opinion of Abu l'Kasim of Amid, who in his book *Weighing of the Poems* relates the following tale: ''Once a stylistic connoisseur heard the verses of al-Abbas ibn al-Ahnaf :

> 'Your union is separation; your word hate;
> Your assent is dissent; your peace war.
> You bear within you through God's grace harsh thoughts,
> And all tenderness is obstinate.'

Then he said: 'By Allah, this is finer than the divisions of Euclid.   But still more worthy of this praise is the verse of Abu Tayyib' (quoted in the text). Tha'alibi also makes mention of the fact that Mutanabbi arranged his consecutive similes in brief symmetrical clauses (Nicholson, p. 310; Dieterici, p. 68).

> ''She shone forth like a moon
>   And swayed like a morning bough,
>   And shed fragrance like ambergris,
>   And gazed like a gazelle.''

Ahlwardt, *Poesie und Poetik der Araber* (Gotha, 1856), p. 74, also notes the parallelism in *Mutanabbi;* on *taqsīm*, see Freytag, *Darstellung der arabischen Verskunst* (Bonn, 1830), p. 537.

[134] Gladwin, p. 49.

[135] Rueckert-Pertsch, p. 340.

to the earliest origins of Arabic poetry in a search for germane comparative data.

Among the oldest extant Arabic poems is found this selection:

> Tell me, O Rakash and deceive me not,
> Hast thou given thyself to a free man, or to a base born?
> Or to one lower, for thou art fit for one lower?
> Or to a slave, for thou art fit for a slave?[136]

It is at once evident that parallelism is present here. The same can be said of this quotation:

> By the light and the dark; by the earth and the heaven;
> Surely the trees shall perish; and the waters shall return as in the time of old.

These selections, taken from a bulk of similar material, are unmetrical, though in each of the lines the first and second parts rhyme in their last word. They are composed in the *saj‘* form. Literally this word signifies the sound made by the cooing of a dove; in rhetorical terminology, it designates "rhymed prose"; but for a comparison with the Hebrew poetry this translation of the term is unsatisfactory, for Hebrew poetry contains no rhyme, other than the few instances where it occurs accidentally. In Arabic, too, the rhyme of the *saj‘* is, at least in its earliest manifestation, not all important; it is regarded by Goldziher as a later introduction, employed extensively for the first time in the formal public discourse or sermon, the *khutba,* from the third century of the *Hijra* onward.[137]   It is therefore better to translate *saj‘* as "unmetrical poetry."[138]   To this species, the Hebrew poetry shows startling similarities. Among the Arabs and the Hebrews, the simplest element of poetical speech is "the versicle, a short and serried sentence, vigorously expressing a single idea, and detached from what goes before and comes after it."[139]   The poetry of both is made up by the agglutination of these unmetrical versicles to one another: Hebrew con-

---

[136] Chenery, p. 42, gives this translation.

[137] Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie* (Leyden, 1896), contains a discussion of the *saj‘*, I, 57–76ff. On lack of rhyme in early khutbas, see p. 62. On the *saj‘*, see also Prendergast, *The Maqamat of Badi Al-Zaman Al-Hamadhani* (1915), p. 8ff.

[138] Gray, p. 44; Goldziher, p. 59.

[139] Chenery, p. 47–48.

fines itself to parallelism mainly, a polarity or dualism between
two versicles; Arabic shows this dualism, together with con-
tinuity, the former appearing in the parallelistic speech of the
desert orators, and most clearly in the *Maqāmāt* of Hariri;
while the latter is more conspicuous in the semimetrical verse,
called *rajaz*, which will be discussed below; both parallelism and
continuity are present in compositions of a stricter prosody
which the Arabs themselves call poetry.[140]

The most important point in the *saj'*, however, is not the
fact that it is unmetrical, or that in ancient times it was not
rhymed,[141] but that it is the counterpart of genuine Hebrew
parallelism. The rhetorical character of the earliest *khutba* was
concerned more with the symmetry and synonymity of the
stichoi than with any other poetical element.[142] The psycho-
logical basis for the *saj'* is the rhythmical and balanced form
which seems to grow from exalted speech: whenever the lan-
guage of the *khutba* becomes elevated and excited, parallelism
appears; and even in the ordinary prose of the most sober
narratives, the *saj'* appears when the writer describes anything
which arouses his admiration or amazement.

A valuable piece of evidence for the thesis that parallelism
in its origins is intimately bound up with magical incantations
and formulas is discernible in the fact that the *saj'* is supposed
to have been the characteristic form of utterance by the ancient
Arabic soothsayers. Many legends have been handed down
regarding its use for exorcisms, for oracular sayings, for prayers
of protection, for prescriptions against the evil eye, for beggar-
proverbs, and similar forms; its oldest usage for magical pur-
poses may be found in the judgments and wise words of the
old *kāhin*-speeches of heathen Arabic antiquity; later its use
became a religious question, and though it is said that Mohammed
banned it as a reminder of the days before his coming,[143] never-

---

[140] In addition to the *Maqāmāt* of Hariri, parallelism of the *saj'* is to
be found in the *Maqāmāt* of al-Hamadhani (see above), in the *Maqāmāt*
of the Jewish poet al-Harizi (see below); and in the imitation of the
Maqāmāt of Hariri by Nasif al-Yazaji of Beirut (Chenery, p. 98).

[141] Chenery, p. 48, and above.

[142] Goldziher, p. 64.

[143] On the use of the *saj'* by magicians and diviners, see Goldziher,
p. 69ff. A comparison can be instituted between the use of the *saj'*

theless he himself wrote the Koran in *saj'* or rhymed prose
motif.   Mohammed's utterances, it is true, though unmetrical,
make a nearer approach to versification than the ordinary
rhymed prose, because their rhyme is continuous; Mueller is cor-
rect, however, in his discovery of parallelism and antithesis in
the Koran, though these are by no means the dominant styles.
After Mohammed, the Islamic preachers adopted the *saj'* for
their weekly exhortations in the mosques; and rhymed prose,
with emphasis laid more and more on the rhyme, now became so
widespread that it was used in the introduction to most books,
throughout others (particularly histories), and almost in com-
mon conversation.[144]   In the *Thousand Nights and a Night* "it
adds a sparkle to description and a point to proverb, epigram
and dialogue; ... and, generally, it defines the boundaries be-
tween the classical and the popular styles."[144a]

In conjunction with the parallelism of the *saj'* arose a
regular metre, the *rajaz.*   This was employed long before the
end of the Period of Ignorance, and was the favorite vehicle
for the sententious utterances of chiefs and warriors, wise men
and diviners.[145]   Fundamentally *rajaz* is nothing but rhyth-
mically disciplined *saj'.*[146]   Parallelism existed before the intro-
duction of rhyme, and surely before the introduction of the
rajaz metre.   When out of rhyme and the *rajaz* there is devel-
oped verse or poetry proper in all its multiform ramifications
and artifices, parallelism still continues; but it is buried under
a mass of poetical devices.   It is crowded by metre, bounded and
modified by rhyme; but none the less even in the genuine poetry

by the soothsayers, and the words mentioned with reference to the *yidde-*
'ōnīm in Isaiah 8.19.   There *mahgīm* can refer to the cooing of the turtle
dove, just as *m'çaphç'phīm* refers to the chirping of the birds.   This would
seem to point to the usage of the *saj'* by the soothsayers of the Hebrews,
and hence to lend evidence to the hypothesis that the *saj'* may also have
been at some time or another a form of the Hebrew parallelism.   The
Arabic *saj'* may be related to the Hebrew *shugga'* "to be intoxicated with
prophecy."

144 Chenery, p. 52ff.   Arbuthnot, *Arabic Authors* (London, 1890), p. 27,
asserts that the irregular, half rhythmical, half rhyming sentences of the
Koran were the first attempts in the direction of prose in Arabic literature.
    144a Burton's translation, Introduction to Vol. I.
    145 Chenery, p. 49.
    146 Goldziher, p. 76.

of the Arabs, the Persians and the Turks, it continues to mani-
fest itself now and then.   For the character of the Islamic lan-
guages lends itself with such readiness and responsiveness to
parallelism that the latter could never be entirely overwhelmed.[147]
And it was probably due to the impress of its parallelistic origin
that the Arabic poetry has always maintained an extreme sim-
plicity and brevity of syntactic structure, demanding that the
verse (i.e., line) stand by itself as a syntactic unit.   It is true
that the line may contain as many as thirty syllables, and that,
though each line must in general consist of two metrically equal
hemistichs, the caesura dividing the hemistichs may fall within
a word and the line as a whole become the syntactic unit as it
is normally the rhyme unit; but in the *rajaz* the older poets
treat the single stichos (the hemistich) as the unit and rhyme
all the hemistichs; and the fact that in all classical poetry the
first line must be so treated—the rhyme must appear also at the
first caesura—shows that originally the hemistich was the syn-
tactic unit.

The long usage and development of the *saj'* through the
mazes of Arabic poetry has resulted in its division into several
branches, not all of which are valid for comparison with Hebrew
parallelism.   The individual stichoi are usually of the same
length, but the second and sometimes the third stichos can be
longer than the preceding; the finest type of *saj'* is found when
the individual stichoi contain only a few words, from two to
ten; long sentences of twenty or more words are unwieldy and
weak.   This agrees substantially with the Hebrew, where terse
sentences are favored.

Synonymous parallelism is found in several forms in the
Arabic and kindred literatures.   The *saj' muwāzan* is the closest
approach thereto.   It occurs when the end words of the stichoi

---

[147] Steingass, *Assemblies of Hariri* (London, 1897), p. iv: ''Arabic can
do very well without punctuation because in elementary compositions the
extreme simplicity of its construction scarcely requires such external signs
of subdivision, while in works of a more elaborate style the *saj'* offers a
sufficient equivalent for them.   The rhyme in its repetition or in its still
more frequent recurrence not only distinctly marks out the members of a
proposition, but is also in combination with the parallelism of elevated
Oriental diction, a great help to the reader for supplying the necessary
vocalization.''

agree in form, but not necessarily in rhyme; the result is close parallelism:

> He is the sun in majesty, while the kings are stars;
> He is the sea in generosity, while the nobles are brooks.

If all or at least a majority of the individual words of one stichos are similar in form to the corresponding terms of the second stichos, this figure is called *mumāthala*.[148] This verse of Abu Tammam is an example:

> (Maidens) beautiful as gazelles, only that the latter are tame;
> Slender as reeds, only that these are without sap.

The use of the root *mathal,* meaning to be like, to resemble, proves valuable in a discussion of the term *māshāl* as the Hebrew name for synonymous parallelism.[149]

In the Persian, the *saj' muwāzan* shows the same identity with the Hebrew parallelism:

> The Shah art thou, the might of whose steeds serves as a guide;
> The Moon art thou, the victorious strength of whose swords serves as a whetstone.

Or:

> The envy of my verses devours the liver of Hussan Sabit;
> The arm of my prose smiteth the neck of Sehbane Wayel.[150]

Rueckert says of this form: "Both the *tarsi'* and the *saj' muwāzan* are the most perfect, yet at the same time most rigid form of the Hebrew *parallelismus membrorum,* which also in many cases is a complete parallelism of all the individual words."[151] This parallelism occurs with the most highly developed metres, which heighten rather than hinder the synonymity of the terms.

Slightly similar to this figure, yet showing a parallelism neither so perfect nor so constant is the *saj' mutawāzī.* Here at the end of two periods of prose or at the close of two stichoi of verse, there are two words agreeing in measure, rhyme, and in the final letter, the number of words in the stichoi being also equal. Though it is not always the case, the remaining words

---

148 Mehren, p. 166ff; Rueckert-Pertsch, p. 104ff. See below, p. 115.

149 Rueckert-Pertsch, p. 105.

150 Gladwin, p. 10. Gladwin's transliteration of the proper names is retained.

151 Rueckert-Pertsch, p. 106.

of one stichos may correspond either in form or in rhyme with
the respective words of the other :

> Without support am I through the enticement of those locks full of
>   ringlets,
> Without sleep am I through the flattery of that eye full of ardour.

Synonymous parallelism may also be found in the figure *saj‘
murassa‘*, though it will be seen that in the form of the *tarsī‘*
it occurs more often as antithetic parallelism. The *saj‘ murassa‘*
occurs when all the words or the majority of those in one section
agree in form and in rhyme with the corresponding words of the
second :

> He studied the parts of speech with the jewels of his words;
> He influences all ears with the warning-calls of his preaching.

This formation is not distinctive of rhymed prose alone, but
occurs also in many forms of verse; in this selection from Abu
Tammam, all the sections have the same rhyme :

> Through him is my reason enlightened; through him my hand well-
>   filled;
> Through him my brooklet became a stream; through him my tinder
>   a torch.

This *motif* differs from the *saj‘ muwāzan* in that it has identity
of rhyme and sound, as well as of form.

Antithetic parallelism has many varieties in the Arabic and
kindred literatures. When each stichos of the antithesis con-
tains several ideas arranged in order, which stand exactly oppo-
site to each other, the figure is called *muqābala;* the number of
these opposing concepts ranges from two to ten.[152]   For three
and three, the number most common in Hebrew antithetic par-
allelism, this verse serves as an example :

> How beautiful are faith and riches when they are united;
> How ugly are unbelief and poverty in one and the same man.

Five and five are illustrated by a verse similar to this one from
Ibn Mu‘tazz, where the individual members are heaped up in
rows :[153]

> Be noble, composed, friendly, well-esteemed and peaceful;
> Or be faithless, arrogant, surly, despised and belligerent.

---

[152] On antithesis, see Mehren, p. 97ff.; on *muqābala,* p. 99.
[153] Ahlwardt, p. 74–75; Dieterici, p. 32–35.

This type is also called *tafwīf,* and is employed on occasion by Mutanabbi.

In the figure of *tarsī',* which springs directly from the *saj' murassa',* antithetic parallelism is also found. The *tarsī'* is the complement of the *saj' muwāzan,* or synonymous parallelism, and occurs in all branches of Islamic literature:

> Verily the righteous are in heavenly enjoyment;
> But the accursed are in Gehenna.

In the Persian also, the *tarsī'* sometimes occurs without antithesis: .

> The shower of God's grace without calculation is open to all;
> And the table of his kindness is prepared in all places.[154]

At times the *tarsī'* is joined with the *tajnīs,* becoming *tarsī' ma' tajnīs,* wherein antithesis occurs most often, but where synonymity is also possible:

> I shall not be distressed, if you do not distress me;
> I shall be wishful, if you are sportive.[155]

Examples of antithetic parallelism occur often in proverbs:

> Faith is the medicine of every grief;
> Doubt only raises up a host of cares.

> Mere falsehood should be by its face recognized,
> But truth by parables and admonitions.[156]

Synthetic parallelism can be said to exist as such in Arabic even less than in Hebrew. In Hebrew, where the dominant *motif* is parallelism, synthetic couplets are usually encompassed by numerous genuine synonymous or antithetic couplets; so in the Arabic *khutba* and *maqāma* which alone show long arrays of parallelistic couplets, and of course in strict poetry, where parallelism is the exception, not the rule, synthetic couplets are engulfed in the labyrinth of couplets which are characterized by various rhymes and metres. The multitudinous types of rhymed and metrical couplets, it is true, may have evolved out of the synthetic couplets; but the line of demarcation between

---

154 Rueckert-Pertsch, pp. 88–89; Fleischer, *Kleinere Schriften,* II, 206.
155 Gladwin, p. 5.
156 Nicholson, p. 301.   Also:
    ''Man's life is his fair name and not his length of years;
    Man's death is his ill name, and not the day that nears.''

so-called synthetic parallelism and non-parallelistic couplets is
so thin that it is futile to distinguish any other types than the
clear synonymous and antithetic.

Examples of the long continuity of parallelistic couplets in
the *maqāma*, written in the *saj'*, or rhymed prose structure
may be seen in this excerpt from Hariri's *maqāma* called the
"Reversed":[157]

> Man is the creature of kindness,
>
> And the perfecting of a benefit is the deed of the liberal;
> And the disposition of the generous is a treasure of praise.
>
> And the gain of thanks is a gathering of happiness;
> And the index of generosity is the light of cheerfulness.
>
> And the practice of courtesy leads of need to affection;
> And the bond of friendship demands sincere counsel;
>
> And truth of narrative is the ornament of the tongue;
> And eloquence in speech is witchcraft to hearts;
>
> And the net of desire is the bane of souls;
> And impatience of disposition is a dishonor to mortals.
>
> And evil desire consists not with self-restraint;
> And the clinging to prudence is the leading-cord of safety;
>
> And to seek occasions for blamings is the worst of faults;
> And the dwelling upon failings overthrows friendships.

The passage continues in this strain for many paragraphs, and
the same sustained parallelism can be found throughout the
entire work. The synonymity between the terms at times is
close and at times distant, yet the parallelism is indubitable.

The following example from Burton's translation of Night
204 of the *Thousand Nights and a Night* shows parallelism ex-
tending through several lines:

> This is the writ of one whom passion swayeth,
> And whom longing waylayeth,
> And wakeful misery slayeth;
>
> One who despaireth of living,
> And looketh for naught but dying;

---

[157] Chenery, p. 202. The peculiarity of this particular composition,
The Seventh Assembly, is that the words themselves when reversed produce
a perfect sense.

With whose mourning heart . . . .
        Nor comforter nor helper taketh part,
One whose sleepless eyes
        None succoureth from anxieties;

Whose day is passed in fire
And his night in torturing desire.

A word must be said on the presence in Arabic of a form identical with the Hebrew *qīnā*, or elegy.[158] The rhythm of an old Arabic elegy has been designated as : — — ◡ — | — —; it is supposed to have developed out of numerically undisciplined *saj'*, which was employed in ancient times not only in the orations and epics, but also in songs of mourning. It is closely associated with the rise and development of the *rajaz* metre.[159] A couplet which shows the similarity to the Hebrew style is the following :[160]

Why hast thou trampled him—the man?
Why hast thou killed him—oh camel?

The following conclusions may then be made in regard to Arabic parallelism :

1. Parallelism exists in Arabic, Persian, and Ottoman poetry, together with varied rhymes and metres; the figures wherein parallelism is present do not, however, show the true historic nature of parallelism.

2. Parallelism exists inherently and genuinely in the *saj'*, or unmetrical poetry or rhymed prose. Originally the *saj'* must have been unrhymed and unmetrical, distinguished only by the parallelism. In this primitive stage it was contemporaneous with early Hebrew poetry. Arabic poetry, however, followed a different line of evolution, and in time added to the *saj'* rhyme, which became even more important than the parallelism. From this rhyme developed the numerous species of rhyme in the later parallelism. In addition, the *rajaz* metre developed and disciplined the *saj'*; from it grew the multitude of metres which characterize later Arabic poetry.

---

[158] Koenig, *Stylistik*, p. 316; and *Hebraeische Rhythmik* (Halle, 1914), pp. 14–15; Wetzstein, *Z. f. Ethnologie*, V (1873), 297ff.

[159] Goldziher, p. 77ff.

[160] See also below, note 167.

3. Parallelism in Arabic is synonymous in the figures *saj'*
muwāzana, saj' murassa' and *saj' mutawāzī,* etc.   It is anti-
thetic in the figures *muqābala* and *tarsī',* and others.   Synthetic
parallelism as such does not exist in Arabic poetry.   *Qīnā* is
also present in Arabic, and the kindred literatures.

A final question arises with reference to the *saj'.*   Gray
points out that the *saj'* stands intermediately between the form
nathr, prose and *nathm* or *shi'r,* metrical poetry.[161]   The *rajaz*
metre he takes as the transitional style between unmetrical and
metrical poetry.   Gray then asks: Is it possible that in Hebrew,
not two, but three forms of composition should be recognized—
metrical poetry, and plain prose, and an intermediate type
"differing from poetry by the absence of metre, and from prose
by obedience to certain laws governing the mutual relations
between its clauses—a type for which we might as makeshifts
employ the terms unmetrical poetry or parallelistic prose?"
It is not possible here to answer this question; it will be neces-
sary to postpone even an attempt at a reply until the material
in several portions of the biblical writings shall have been
reëxamined.[162]

<div style="text-align:center">NEO-ARABIC</div>

The Neo-Arabic poetry which is sung by the common people
today affords many parallels to the ancient Hebrew.   A collec-
tion of Arabic songs entitled *Songs of an Egyptian Peasant*
portrays the three major stages of early poetry, iteration,
incremental repetition, and parallelism.[163]   Iteration is not so
frequent as incremental repetition, of which the following
examples among many suffice:

> Oh Shamme, what has become of me, Shamme,
> Whom thou lettest restlessly wander about, Shamme,
> Whom thou lettest hunger, Shamme,

---

[161] Gray, p. 44.   In Persian, the prose consists of three types: 1, poetical
prose, having measure without rhyme; 2, having rhyme without any meas-
use; 3, simple prose, devoid of rhyme and measure.   Neither rhyme without
measure, nor measure without rhyme is poetry; it is necessary that both
should be combined to form verse.   Gladwin, p. 1; Rueckert-Pertsch,
pp. 54–55.

[162] See below, on Amos, p. 262.

[163] Schaefer, *Songs of an Egyptian Peasant,* collected and translated
into German; English edition by F. H. Breasted (Leipzig, 1904).

> Whom thou lettest thirst, Shamme,
> What has become of me, Shamme,
> Verily I would go to Syria for the sake of Shamme.

An example of repetition and ascending thought, as in some of
the Bible poems, is found in this:

> The baby gazelle, my children,
> Goes behind its mother to the pasture,
> It goes to the pasture without any shoes,
> With little feet bare.

And:

> Thou Alexandrian bath!
> O bath, how wretchedly thou art made,
> O bath, and it was made by me;
> O bath, and nobody but myself.

Antithetic parallelism is evident here:

> If we have done something badly, then reprove us,
> And if we have been thy sons, then content us.

Alternate parallelism in a quatrain is present in this:

> The eye is black from Allah,
>   Wherefore then the eye-paint?
> And the cheek is red from Allah,
>   Wherefore then Joseph's-beauty?

Other illustrations are at hand in the collection; these suffice,
however, to demonstrate similarities to Hebrew parallelism.

Littman's *Neo-Arabic Folk-poetry* is full of suggestions for
the Old Testament student to which attention has already been
called by Freiherr von Gall.[164]   Littman asserts that many of
these genuine folk poems from Egypt, Palestine and Syria are
written in a kind of rhymed prose; the lack of a definite measure
many indicate that also in the Old Testament verses of a similar
character are at least possible without a fixed metre.[165]   Litt-
man believes it possible because of the long-standing stability
of oriental forms that the ancient *qīna*-measure is still used in
Palestine.[166]

---

[164] Littmann, *Neuarabische Volkspoesie* (Berlin, 1902); Gall, ''Par-
allellen zum Alten Testament aus E. Littmann's Neuarabische Volkspoesie,''
ZATW, 1904, p. 42ff.

[165] Littman, p. 88.

[166] *Ibid.*, p. 90.

I will wound my cheek for thy sake, O my brother ... and let the
  blood flow,
And I will keep thy slave by my side three months ... for him whom
  they carried away.

I will repeat it, my brother, and say ... and will continue to dance
  for you,
And if people ask of me, I will tell them ... my dear brother has
  gone away.[167]

It should be noted also that strophic structure, while it is
never found in the strictly classical poetry, is fairly frequent
in the folk-poetry. That this also may be a survival from ancient
times is shown by the fact that outside of the classical forms
there are found fairly old prototypes of the so-called Neo-
Arabic forms. As early as the second century after Muhammad
there are references to poems with short lines grouped by vary-
ing rhyme into strophes. Of a later date examples of the
muwashshaχ are found in greater variety; the departure from
the restrictions of the canonical laws of metre and rhyme are
considerable, and the strophic structure is clearly marked by
refrains. Poems of this sort make use not only of popular
speech (grammatical forms without case-endings), but some of
them are written in the strictly classical language. It may be
that the *muwashshaχ* is not in reality a later development out
of the classical poetic structure, but an independent, parallel
development out of the more primitive Semitic type, always
maintained among the people but deemed unworthy of imitation
by the classicists and excluded from the body of written litera-
ature.[167a]

ABYSSINIAN PARALLELISM

A collection of Songs of the Tigre tribes of Abyssinia also
shows points of similarity to the ancient Hebrew.[168] Traces of
parallelism may be found in these selections:

---

[167] *Ibid.*, pp. 47, 14–17, 46, 129; see above, on Arabic *qīnā*. Other col-
lections of Neo-Arabic poetry wherein resemblances to the ancient Hebrew
may be found are: Dalman, *Palaestinischer Diwan* (Leipzig, 1901), cited
by Gray, p. 145; Smith, p. 13; Sachau, "Arab. Volkslieder aus Meso-
potamien," in *Abh. d. Berl. Akad.*, 1889.

[167a] Hartmann, *Das arabische Strophengedicht* (Weimar, 1897), p. 113
and *passim*.

[168] Littmann, "Lieder der Tigre-Staemme," *Publications of Princeton*

I will glorify thee, O Lord,
    Thy deeds are marvelous!
This night he created,
    And he created this morning;
This milk he created,
    And he created this corn;
This sun he created,
    And he created this shadow.

Or

Be but still O Hemmad,
    If you would appease me!
When the elephant is tamed,
    And with burdens of milk returns home;
When the female elephant is bound,
    And with the cows gives milk,
When the lion becomes a shepherd,
    And is at peace with cows and calves,
When the panther protects,
    And from a bound udder drinks,
When the mountain-goat rolls straight up the mountain,
    And remains hanging on the precipice,
When the torrent turns round,
    And pours on the highlands,
When the heaven becomes a field,
    And the tribes wander over it,
When the field becomes heaven,
    And spreads wide over us.

Noeldeke affirms that the metrical form of these poems resembles in some respects the ancient Hebrew.[169]

Though the comparison with this folk poetry of near-Palestinian and Palestinian countries extends to only a few isolated phenomena, yet these are valuable as throwing light upon the ancient Hebrew; it is true that they bear little on the subject of parallelism, for after all, no such regularity as in the biblical poetry is maintained, repetitions and prose being continuously interspersed, the former particularly in large degree; but the character of the ancient Hebrew rhythm and metre receive some elucidation from them, because they appear to have guarded the primitive forms for centuries, untouched by any alien influence.

Expedition to Abyssinia, III, IV (Leyden, 1913–1915); selections from IV, 856, and 775–776 respectively.

[169] *ZA*, XXXI (1916), 13.

Hebrew Parallelism

The earliest appearance of parallelism in Hebrew poetry can scarcely be determined. Unchanged iteration after the manner of the Egyptian and the Sumerian is not found in the Bible except in artistically introduced refrains, where, however, they are surrounded by regular parallelism and occur at regular intervals. Incremental repetition is present, though as a type of highly developed parallelism. The identity of the two lines in this couplet produces a strong poetic effect, though the text itself is doubtful (Is. 15.1):

> In-a-night 'tis-destroyed, Ar-Moab is-ruined;
> In-a-night 'tis-destroyed, Kir-Moab is-ruined.

The reason for the difficulty in tracing the origin and expansion of parallelism in Hebrew lies in the fact that even the most ancient poems already possess a regular and intricate parallelistic structure. Though the archaic songs may have come down in the language and the form of the prophetic writers of the periods of great literary activity among the Hebrews, there is nothing to argue against the presence of parallelism even in their original form. The Song of Lamech (Gen. 4.23 ff.) and other snatches of primitive Hebrew poetry betray a fully developed parallelism, together with almost all the other poetic devices of the later literature; hence it is virtually impossible to cut through to the pristine beginnings of Hebrew parallelism with a view to an analysis of its steps of historic development.

A slight fund of evidence is discoverable in the passages which refer to the habit of the women of the early Hebrews in improvising verses on occasions of exultation and triumph. The origins of antiphonal singing may be found here. Tradition reports that Moses with the Israelites chanted his ode at the Red Sea in responsive fashion, the chorus taking up, modifying and supplementing the thoughts expressed by the leader. "Miriam, the prophetess, took a timbrel in her hand, and all the women followed her with timbrels, and with dances, and Miriam answered them" (Ex. 15.20).[170] Another reference is

---

[170] For similar customs among other primitive peoples, see Gummere, p. 264ff.

found in I Sam. 18.7, where the ''women who played answered
one another,'' singing, first one group:

> Saul hath slain his thousands,

the other answering:

> And David his ten thousands.

This custom seems to have represented a long historic process,
and rather explains the methods in which parallelism was
employed than the rise of parallelism itself; such antiphonal
singing and responsion is a practice common to many peoples,
and is not accompanied of necessity by parallelism.   After long
usage in the Temple liturgy, antiphonal singing passed into the
Christian Church, when two divisions of the choir sang the
psalms or hymns alternately by strophes; sometimes this was
done by single verses or lines, so that the same section of the
choir always sang the latter half of a couplet, similar in a way
to the practice of composition employed by the Finnish bards.[171]
By this time, however, parallelism had attained high literary
form; though originally it may have arisen from this practice
of alternate singing between a leader and a chorus, it is more
plausible to believe that the couplet structure of parallelism
stands entirely apart from the antiphonal singing; its origins in
Hebrew may be based upon the long tradition which had come
down through the Sumerian and Babylonian-Assyrian literature.

Two terms apparently were used to designate parallelism in
the Hebrew.   The word *'ānā*, ''answer'' or ''respond,'' is used
with reference to antiphonal singing, though incidentally its
meaning of ''answer'' may signify the fact that one stichos

---

[171] On Jewish Temple music in the early Christian church, see Reider,
Review of *Gesaenge d. jemenischen Juden,* A. Z. Idelsohn, JQR, n.s., VII
(1917), 635ff.   ''It is a well-known fact that both the Ambrosian and
Gregorian chants which lay at the foundations of Christian music, in spite
of being based on Greek modes, are Jewish in character, and must have had
their origin in Temple music (cf. Fetis, *Histoire générale de la musique,*
I, 166).   Not only their antiphonal character (theme and counter-theme),
which closely resembles the principle of parallelism in Hebrew poetry, but
also their affinity and predilection for minor modes like the Phrygian and
the total eclipse of the Lydian major, point as support to this assertion.   If
therefore as we have reason to suppose, there is a continuity between the
Temple melodies and those of the Yemenite synagogue, a comparison be-
tween the latter and the so-called 'cantus planus' of the Church can be
instructive in establishing once for all the degree of influence of the Temple
on the early Church in the field of music,'' p. 639.

"answers" to another in the couplet; for this connotation, how-
ever, no instances are at hand.[172]   It is equally difficult to tell
whether the word *māshāl* refers to parallelism.   In the Arabic,
it has been seen that the *saj' mumāthil* denotes synonymous
parallelism.   The corresponding Hebrew verb *māshāl* originally
means "to represent, to be like"; and for the ancient Hebrews,
the noun *māshāl* was used, usually in the Wisdom literature, of
sentences constructed in parallelism, but occasionally of other
types;[173] it means also a "parable," or "sentences of poetry."
It does not, however, appear to designate sharply and directly
the formation of parallelistic couplets, though the parable, the
proverb, the riddle, or the prophetic figurative discourse were
almost always cast in couplet or triplet formation.   In this con-
nection, it is significant to note that a study of literary style
does not receive much attention until the Middle Ages, though
Philo and Josephus made feeble efforts in this direction; David
Kimhi and his contemporaries are perhaps the first to give to
parallelism a distinctive appellation.   The fact that seemingly
the ancient Hebrews had no definite term to apply to the specific
process of forming couplets of parallelism, but referred rather
to the type of poetic result or totality, namely the poem itself,
might indicate that the use of parallelism was not a deliberate
or fixed style; but this conclusion is by no means a necessary one.

CONCLUSIONS

It is now possible to present conclusions on the origin of
parallelism.   Parallelism has its seat in a psychological tendency
of the human mind to repeat a favorite thought in different
words; this impulse operates most freely and vigorously in
moments of lyrical excitement, though guided and chastened by
a second psychological propensity towards orderliness and organ-
ization.   The manifestation of these poetic principles appears in
ancient literatures, where they take first the form of reiteration,
then of incremental repetition, and finally of artistic parallelism.

---

[172] Brown, Driver and Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon* [cited as
BDB] (Boston, 1906), p. 777.

[173] *Ibid.*, p. 605.

The earliest use of parallelism seems to be bound up with the antiphonal song of the poet and the crowd, and the formulas of soothsayers.

Parallelism being the result of a universal human instinct may have arisen independently in the numerous literatures where it is found.   In Chinese literature, its rise and development are indigenous and date back three thousand years; in Finnish literature it is equally old, and is apparently entirely native, being unaffected by foreign influences.   Though bound by a special metre, Finnish is much looser and freer than the Chinese parallelism, which is assisted by several external mechanical devices which tend to make its forms stereotyped and rigid. Both stand entirely apart from the parallelism of the ancient peoples of the near-East.

These include the Egyptian, Sumerian, Babylonian-Assyrian, Arabic, and Hebrew literatures.   Each of these may have created and developed parallelism by entirely local agencies; no alien influences may have been at work.   Yet the geographical proximity of these peoples and the fairly complete chain of chronological evolution points to some contact and interplay of influence.   The earliest extant parallelism obtains in Egyptian literature.   Though fairly constant, it is marred by frequent repetitions; its couplet structure is vague and irregular.   By some it is supposed that Hebrew parallelism took its origin from the Egyptian.   On the assumption that the Egyptians were a non-Semitic people, though this of course has been disputed, Breasted asks: Did the Semites obtain this style of verse from the Egyptians, or vice-versa?[174]   Philo asserts in *De Vita Mosis* (I, 5) that Moses was taught by the Egyptians "the whole theory of rhythm, harmony and metre."   But such evidence naturally counts for little; though Hebrew undoubtedly borrowed much from the Egyptians, the period and extent of this influence cannot be shown.   The high state of Hebrew parallelism and the low stage of Egyptian, indicate a broad historical gap between the two which, if a nexus between them can be established, must be bridged.

---

[174] *Biblical World,* I, 56.

Sumerian parallelism seems to be the next step after the Egyptian. Without entering into the debatable question of the racial patrimony of the Sumerians, two hypotheses on the appearance of parallelism in their literature are possible. Either the Egyptian literature affected the Sumerian and thus stimulated it to an advance in the regularity of its parallelism, for despite its repetitions, it shows a more obvious couplet structure; or Sumerian parallelism arose locally and of its own accord, without any interchange between Egyptian and Mesopotamian cultures. Thus if it be accepted that both Egyptians and Sumerians were non-Semitic peoples, the substratum of ancient parallelism may have been in contradistinction to the usual opinion, non-Semitic.

The third link in the chain of near-Eastern parallelism may bind the Sumerian with the Babylonian-Assyrian. The fact that so many of the Assyrian hymns were copies from the Sumerian, as the bilingual texts prove, may indicate that the latter underlies the varied Babylonian-Assyrian parallelism. Schrader champions the view that the "Akkadians" were the progenitors and earliest teachers of parallelism to the Semites, first to the Babylonians and then to the Hebrews. But little evidence is at hand to show that the Hebrews learned parallelism from the Sumerians "during their sojourn in Sinear, in Ur of the Chaldees before they wandered to the North and West, in order to settle permanently in Canaan."[175] Even if the Hebrews had been introduced into parallelism from this source, its further development must have come from contact with Babylonian parallelism.

For the transmission of Babylonian-Assyrian forms to Hebrew literature constitutes the next link in the chain of parallelism. The similarity of Babylonian to Hebrew strophic and verse forms—the metrical, accentual, and other likenesses—points to direct interplay between the two civilizations and literatures.[176] Though the Babylonian stands clearly ahead of the Sumerian

---

[175] Schrader, "Semitismus," I, 121ff.

[176] Baumann, *Die Metrik und d. A. T.* (Tuebingen, 1905), pp. 52–53; Berger, "Les origines babyloniens de la poesie sacrée des Hebreux," *Annales du Musée Guimet, Biblioth. de vulgarisation*, XVI (1904), 26–84.

and the Egyptian, it does not attain in regularity of couplet structure and the absence of repetitions, the beauty of the Hebrew.   It may be said to stand intermediately between Sumerian-Egyptian and Hebrew.   This by no means implies that the ancient Israelites took over bodily Babylonian parallelism and other poetic forms of expression.   Moreover, the earliest point at which outside parallelism entered the Hebrew cannot be determined, because the most ancient poems extant betray a fully developed parallelistic formation.

A similar problem is bound up in a consideration of Arabic parallelism.   Hitherto the statements made as to the rise and gradual expansion of parallelism have been largely conjectural; an even wider range of hypothetical reconstruction is demanded with reference to the origins of the Arabic.   The earliest available literature of the Arabs dates back only a hundred years or more before Mohammed.   Parallelism is present in the form of the *saj'*, already marked by rhyme.   Though Goldziher postulates a time when the *saj'* possessed neither metre nor rhyme, the question arises as to how far back this period extends. Despite the tenacity with which the desert Bedouin Arabs maintained their customs, exemplified in part by a comparison of the Neo-Arabic poetry with the ancient Hebrew, it is too wild a leap in the dark to say that contemporaneous with the Babylonian-Assyrian parallelism, an Arabic prototype existed.   The desert tribes may have possessed at that time no literature whatsoever; this would imply that Arabic parallelism arose either indigenously or from contact with the surrounding peoples where parallelism was employed, the Babylonians or the Hebrews. There are signs of a primitive union of Arabic with Hebrew, and in the poetry of the Bible itself there are several instances of couplets which show marked resemblance to the unrhymed *saj'*.   But if ever a primitive junction between Hebrew and Arabic existed in unrecorded eras, Arabic poetry traced an entirely different course of evolution; the Hebrew remained true to its ancient origins; only when it comes into clash with the Greek, Latin, and early Christian poetic forms, does the long maintained parallelism surrender; Arabic, however, adds to the

unrhymed and unmetrical *saj'* first a varied rhyme; then
metre, first of simple then of multifarious character; finally
the parallelism of the *saj'* is overwhelmed, but not entirely
lost, through the adoption and perfection of countless poetical
mechanical devices. Thus the difficulty of classifying Arabic
in the chronology of parallelistic evolution may be readily per-
ceived. It is best to ascribe to it an independent origin, and
to say of the Hebrew, that it drew nourishment from the totality
of parallelistic growth represented by the apparently steady
ascent from Egyptian-Sumerian through Babylonian-Assyrian
into the Hebrew. Arabic may be a side-stream in the current
of evolution; its rôle cannot be approximated. In the Hebrew,
however, parallelism received the strongest impulse for high
poetic expression.

A summary of conclusions on the origins of parallelism may
be briefly put as follows:

1. Both Chinese and Finnish parallelism arise independently
of any outside influences.

2. The chronological line of development of near-Eastern, or
Mediterranean-Mesopotamian parallelism seems to be as follows:
Egyptian, Sumerian, Babylonian-Assyrian, and Hebrew. Arabic
may have been contemporaneous with the Babylonian-Assyrian
or with the Hebrew.

3. If a non-Semitic substratum for parallelism is postulated,
it may be supposed that Egyptian and Sumerian, regarded as
non-Semitic, each arose independently of the other, or through
some interchange; that Babylonian-Assyrian grew out of Sumer-
ian; that Hebrew grew out of Egyptian, Babylonian-Assyrian,
and possibly the independently-originated Arabic.

4. If a Semitic substratum be postulated, it may be supposed
that in primitive times, the Arabs and the Hebrews possessed a
literature marked by common traits; the *saj'* may underlie
Hebrew parallelism, though no evidence points to the fact that
the unrhymed and unmetrical *saj'* existed so early as the ancient
Hebrew; this implies a jump over nearly two thousand years.
The Arabic *saj'* with its parallelism may be an entirely inde-
pendent growth.

LATER DEVELOPMENT OF PARALLELISM

The lifetime of parallelism covers many centuries. It has been seen that the beginnings of parallelism lie far back in the origins of poetry among the Egyptians and the Sumerians. It entered into Hebrew literature through the medium either of the Egyptian or of the Babylonian-Assyrian, and may have been reinforced by the use of the *saj‘* by primitive Arabic tribes. It appears in the earliest poems of the Israelites; it continues to develop until it reaches its apogee in the days of the Major Prophets, the Psalmists, and the Moralists. Thereafter it continues to flourish in Hebrew literature, though little by little its ancient spirit weakens. It enters into the Greek literature of the Jews and for a while retains its native vigor there; but the rise of Christian civilization and the supremacy of Greek poetic forms spell its gradual retirement. Within indigenous Jewish literature the decline of the Jewish poetic genius during the talmudic period is responsible for a concomitant breakdown of parallelism; nor does the revival of Hebrew poetry after the tenth century avail much for its renewed growth as against the alien influence of an intricate Arabic system of poetics. Only within the last century has a conscious effort been made to resurrect parallelism; and this attempt also has been abortive.

IN THE APOCRYPHA AND THE APOCALYPSES

To trace the history of parallelism after the close of the biblical Canon, it is necessary to turn to those works which lie outside the Old Testament proper. Jebb pointed out the presence of parallelism in almost all of the apocryphal books.[177] Ecclesiasticus, the Wisdom of Solomon, the Books of Wisdom, Book of Tobit, the first Book of the Maccabees, the Book of Judith are for a large part clearly in the parallelistic style of the classic Hebrew writings, though narrative prose at times forms a background for the parallelistic insets, while the couplet formation is less certain, and synonymity and close correspondence are less distinct. The Pseud-epigrapha, several of the

---

[177] Jebb, *Sacred Literature* (London, 1820), pp. 75, 84ff.

apocalypses such as the Twelve Patriarchs, the Book of Jubilees, the Apocalypse of Baruch and IV Esdras, also contain passages of parallelism.   Gray selects from the Apocalypse of Baruch, chapter 48.1–47 as ''among the most regular and sustained examples of parallelism in the whole range of Hebrew literature.''[178]   It seems plausible, then, that parallelism was used in formal literature among the Jews as a regular *motif* at least until 100 A.D., the approximate date of the Apocalypse of Esdras.

In Greek Originals by Jews

A word must be said on the use of parallelism in Greek literature contemporary with the later Hebrew.   Tobit's Prayer, the Prayer of Manasses, the Song of the Three Holy Children, the latter part of Baruch were, according to the viewpoint of several investigators, written originally in Greek; yet the parallelism remains fairly pure.   It has already been noted that the character and form of the original Hebrew poetry were retained, with the exception of a few errors and misinterpretations, in the Septuagint.[179]

In the New Testament

Parallelism is evident also in the New Testament.   Among those first to recognize it therein were Horne, Wakefield, Farrer, Ammon, A. Clarke and others.[180]   But Bishop Jebb was per-

---

[178] *Forms of Hebrew Poetry*, p. 27.

[179] Professor Max Margolis has pointed out that no translator of the Hebrew Scriptures could fail to notice the parallelistic structure of Hebrew poetry.   The uncials show oftentimes by stichic writing the nature of the periodic and couplet character of the parallelism.   The omission of lines, in Proverbs and Job, for example, must be studied carefully and each case judged on its own merits.   The translator might operate freely with his text, and to the extent that he sacrificed the parallelism it may be said that it did not matter to him, so long, as in the case of Job, he showed himself an adept in Greek poetry (*poetarum lector*).   But that the Alexandrian Jews were fully cognizant of parallelism is shown by the fact that in additions presumably not based on a Hebrew original, or in the apocryphal writings already mentioned, parallelism is present.   The extent to which parallelism was observed in the other versions is doubtful.   Neither Josephus, Origen, nor Jerome understood the fundamental principles of Hebrew poetry, but they labored under misconceptions drawn from their knowledge of Greek.   An interesting chapter on the recognition of parallelism by translators of the Bible throughout the centuries could be written, but lack of space forbids the inclusion in this study.

[180] Jebb, *Sacred Literature*, pp. 94–95.

haps the first to devote himself to a thorough study of New
Testament parallelism; he was followed by Thomas Boys, who
in his *Tacita Sacra* and *Key to the Book of Psalms* attempted
to show a correspondence, not merely of lines, but of whole
paragraphs.   John Forbes carried these investigations still fur-
ther in his *Symmetrical Structure of the Scripture* and *Ana-
lytical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans.*[181]   Richard
G. Moulton accepts many of the results of Forbes and selects
illustrations for the various types of parallelism, rather than
devote himself to a close investigation of the material.[182]   Recent
translations of the New Testament have sought to make use of
the conclusions of these scholars of the last century, though care
must be exercised in a selection of their evidence.[183]

Among the poems which are of Hebrew origin, parallelism
is clear.   The Magnificat and other New Testament canticles
show excellent couplet structure,[184] and the material embodied
in quotations from the original Hebrew still retains the parallel-
istic form: these quotations may be: (1) simple and direct quota-
tions of single passages;[185] (2) quotations of a more complex
kind when fragments are combined from different parts of the
poetical Scriptures and wrought up into one connected whole;[186]
(3) quotations mingled with original matter; here one or more
passages derived from the Hebrew are so connected and blended
with original writings that the compound forms one homogeneous
whole, the sententious parallelism equally pervading all the
component members whether original or derived.[187]

Parallelism is present also in original portions of the New
Testament apparently untouched by any direct influence of
biblical poetry.   Parallel couplets abound;[188] triplets are fre-

---

[181] Edinburgh, 1854, 1868.

[182] *Literary Study of the Bible* (Boston, 1896).

[183] See Torrey, ''A Possible Metrical Origin of the Lord's Prayer,''
ZA, XXVIII, 312ff.   Moffat, *The Historical New Testament* (Edinburgh,
1901).

[184] Gray, p. 26; The Magnificat, Luke 1.46, must of course be compared
with Hannah's Ode in I Sam. 2.1–10.   Burney, *Journal of Theological
Studies*, XIV, 414–424, regards Matt. 25.31–46 as a Hebrew poem.

[185] Matt. 2.6, 18, 4.15, 16; Heb. 12.5, 6, etc.

[186] Mark 11.17; Rom. 11.33–35; II Cor. 9.9, 10, etc.

[187] Rom. 10–13–18; Matt. 21.42–44; Acts, 4.24–30, etc.

[188] Luke 1.46–47, 12.48; Matt. 5.42, 7.2, 12.35, 15.11; John 5.29; James
1.9–10, 4.8, 20.13, etc.

quent,[189] though open to the same question as in the Hebrew; quatrains of varying orders also are numerous.[190]   Even though in Greek, the parallelism here loses little of its native force.

The work of Forbes on the larger combinations in New Testament parallelism must be accepted with caution.   He arranges the Decalogue in the Old Testament, the Sermon on the Mount and other portions of the New Testament, in symmetrical formation, saying that "the exactness of arrangement in lines, paragraphs, and numbers is so definite that no line or scarcely word could be altered without destroying the beautiful symmetry of the whole."   He urges that parallelism is characteristic of prose as well as poetry, and proclaims that it is no special criterion of Hebrew poetry.[191]   Moreover, he neglects the couplet foundation of parallelism, and proceeds to find larger strophic divisions, even in the New Testament epistles, of which he takes the Epistle to the Romans as an example.   This neglect of the couplet character of both Old and New Testament parallelism throws doubt upon the entire method of Forbes.   His over-exact and arbitrary schematization of the Decalogue is as questionable as are Mueller's discussions on the strophe in general; by this method, from almost any elevated prose a sort of "parallelism" could be obtained.   The uncertainty of Forbes himself that every part of St. Paul's epistle was arranged "designedly" in parallelism and his appreciation of the "indistinctness of the parallelism" are borne out by the facts.   Parallelism in New Testament writings plays an important rôle, but its ancient vogue and regularity have passed.   Argumentative and narrative prose prevail; at times the symmetry is strong and constant over long periods, but the dominant note throughout is prosaic.   The spirit and native character of the poetry of the Psalms, the Prophets, and the Moralists have been replaced by a combination of assorted devices of a new literary era.

---

[189] Matt. 8.20, 12.33; John 3.36; II Thess. 2.8; Jude 1.11, etc.

[190] Matt. 3.11, 12, 12.36, 37; John 4.6; Luke 12.22, 23; I Cor. 12.26, etc.

[191] "Analytical Commentary on Romans," p. 63ff.; "Symmetrical Structure," p. 3ff.   Forbes bases his conclusion on the fact that the figure of "epanodos," or "introverted parallelism," as discovered by Bishop Jebb, is used in prose; another point adduced as proof is the employment of special numbers to impart symmetry to the compositions.   But this principle is far afield from the real nature of the parallelism. *Ibid.*, p. 86.

IN SYRIAC

Syriac literature affords an instance of the conscious inter-
mixture of the Jewish poetic *motif* of parallelism with the Latin
and Greek rules which demanded regularity of construction and
equality in the number of metrical feet.   While parallelism
seems to have decayed through sheer internal decline within
Hebrew poetry during the talmudic period, its contact with
outside literatures beyond the confines of the Jewish group
brought it into conflict and synthesis with prevailing non-Jewish
devices.   The Greek and Latin literature cherished by the new
Christian communities of the beginning of the Common Era,
gradually mingled with the stately Hebrew hymnology of tra-
dition; the lyrical poetry of the heathen converts soon challenged
the supremacy of the parallelism which, through the Psalms,
had imbedded itself in the early Christian liturgy.[192]   Little
by little, the Hebrew style surrendered, and metrical rules, after
the bent of original poets, gained control.   New Grecian melo-
dies and measures were introduced—the heptasyllabic, anacreon-
tic, tetrasyllabic, and the dodecasyllabic.   Through Ephraem
Syrus and other minor poets and hymnologists, Syriac literature
received a permanent Greek stamp; despite this, however, par-
allelism especially of alternate, antithetic species, is combined
with the intricate metrical structure:

> The world calls thee;
>   Go forth to labour;
> The grave calls thee,
>   Come rest thou weary one.
> Glory be to Him who gives thee repose.[193]

Synonymous parallelism is also apparent:

> Like lilies taken from the wilderness,
>   Children are planted in paradise;
> And like pearls in diadems,
>   Children are inserted in the Kingdom,
> And without ceasing shall hymn forth praise.[194]

---

[192] Burgess, *Metrical Hymns and Homilies* (1853), p. xxiii ff.
[193] *Ibid.*, p. 9, ''The death of youth.''
[194] *Ibid.*, p. 4, ''The death of children.''

Be a guard to mine eye,
  That it look not stealthily,
Be a guard to the ear,
  That it hear not wickedly.[195]

In Rabbinical Literature

Parallelism in rabbinical literature was perhaps first observed by Jebb, in 1820,[196] who devoted much attention to the form of the aphorisms and proverbs of the Rabbis; he failed, however, to mention the liturgy. The form of even the most ancient prayers differed from that of the Psalms and other compositions admitted into the Canon and supposed to have their origin in the times of the Sopherim, by "entirely discarding parallelism, that dwelling upon one favored sentiment in a variety of ways, as if loath to part with it"; instead, it expressed the idea "in the most clear and concise form, and by its language indicates the transformation of the Biblical into the more popular and dogmatical Talmudical Hebrew, tinted with new formed words and Aramaisms." This statement by Sekles[197] is in part true, but several of the most ancient elements of the Eighteen Benedictions which were written around 100 A.D., and the blessings accompanying the recitation of the *shema'*, show traces of parallelism; this is due in large measure to the fact that they preserved many of the sublime phrases of the Bible and a suggestion of its spirit. An example of parallelism in the liturgy may be found in the *'Alēnū* prayer:

It is our duty to praise the Lord of all things,
To ascribe greatness to him who formed the world in the beginning,

Since he hath not made us like the nations of the other lands,
And hath not placed us like the other families of the earth,

Since he hath not assigned unto us a portion as unto them,
Nor a lot as unto all their multitude....

Who stretched forth the heavens
And laid the foundations of the earth,

The seat of whose glory is in the heavens above,
And the abode of whose might is in the loftiest heights....

---

[195] *Ibid.*, p. 95, "A prayer to the Trinity."
[196] Jebb, pp. 76, 88–90.
[197] *Poetry of the Talmud* (New York, 1880), p. 22.

On the whole it may be concluded that parallelism is a frequent but not a dominant phenomenon of the liturgy, wherein elevated prose mingles with reminiscences of biblical poetry.[198]

The rabbinical proverb, or *māshāl,* expressing sententiously a moral counsel, appears sometimes with and sometimes without parallelism.   The Book of Ecclesiasticus or the Proverbs of Joshua ben Sirah (c. 180 B.C.) is the only systematical book of proverbs dating from the times of the Sopherim.   The Mishna tractate *Pirqē 'Abhōth,* or "Ethics of the Fathers," contains examples wherein varied forms are observed; this saying attributed to Rabbi Hillel is marked by a string of subjects with corresponding predicates, in almost arithmetical progression; the couplet structure has disappeared:

> The more flesh, the more worms,
> The more riches, the more care;
> The more wives, the more witchcraft;
> The more maid-servants, the more lewdness;
> The more men-servants, the more theft;
> The more Torah, the more life;
> The more scholars, the more wisdom;
> The more counsel, the more understanding;
> The more righteousness, the more peace.   (*'Abhōth,* 2, 8)

Sometimes, a figure comparable to the Arabic *'aks* occurs, e.g., this saying of Rabbi Eleazar b. Azariah:

> Where there is no Torah, there are no manners;
> Where there are no manners, there is no Torah.

---

[198] Examples may be found in Sekles, *passim.*   The following shows couplet structure, though not of exact synonymity; the parallelism is rather of a constructive variety:

> "Oh, Lord our God, endow us with knowledge to know thy ways,
> And surround our heart with thy fear;
>
> And forgive us that we may be among those redeemed,
> And remove us from all injury.
>
> Satisfy us with the blessings of thy land,
> And collect our exiles from the four corners of the earth.
>
> Judge the erring according to thy holy will,
> And over the wicked stretch forth thy hand.
>
> Rejoice the just by rebuilding thy City,
> And by the restoration of thy Temple;
>
> By the sprouting forth of the horn of bliss of David thy servant,
> And by the restitution of the light of the son of Jesse, thy annointed.
>   (*Berākhōth,* 29.)

This prayer was composed by a poet named Samuel in the third century.

> Where there is no wisdom, is no fear of God;
> Where there is no fear of God, there is no wisdom.
>
> Where there is no knowledge, there is no understanding;
> Where there is no understanding, there is no knowledge.
>
> Where there is no meal, there is no Torah;
> Where there is no Torah, there is no meal.   (*'Abhōth*, 3, 21)

An example of the interplay between poetry and prose, touched by parallelism, is found in the following:

> Warm thyself by the fires of the wise,
> But beware of their glowing coals, lest thou be burnt;
>
> For their bite is the bite of the fox,
> And their sting is the scorpion's sting;
>
> And their hiss is the serpent's hiss;
> And all their words are like coals of fire.   (*'Abhōth*, 2, 16)

Several examples of antithetic proverbial couplets occur:

> If thou art told, thy friend has died, believe it;
> Thy friend has become rich, believe it not.   (*Giṭṭīn*, 30b)
>
> In whom this is, there is all;
> In whom this is not, what is there?
>
> Has one gotten this, what lacks he?
> Has he not gotten this, what has he gotten?   (*Nᵉdhārīm*, 41a)
>
> Where the book is, no sword is wanted;
> Where the sword is, the book is superfluous.   (*'Abhōdhā Zārā*, 18)

One of the favorite devices of the rabbinical aphorists was a quatrain in antithetic alternate parallelism:

> When the number of sins on earth is increased,
>   The holy name also is not glorified on earth:
> But when the number of sins on earth is not increased,
>   Then the holy name of God is glorified on earth.
>   (*Zōhar*, Deut., 127, 503)
> Whosoever maketh himself little on account of the law in this world,
>   He becometh great in the world to come:
> And whosoever maketh himself a slave on account of the study of the
>   law in this world,
> He shall be free in the world to come.   (*Bābhā Mᵉçī'ā*, 84, 2)

Numerous examples of this *motif* are discoverable in all the tractates of the *Mishnā* and *Gᵉmārā*.[199]   One feels, however, that

---

[199] *'Erūbhīn*, 17b;   *Shabbāth*, 114;   *Siphrā*, fol. 104, 4;   *Midhrash Tᵉhillīm*, to Ps., chap. 9;   *Ta'anīth*, fol. 7, 1.   See Rosenthal, *Ueber den*

the pungency of the biblical proverbs has in large measure been
lost.

The talmudic period proper is succeeded by the geonic, the
literature of which still shows traces of parallelism in the gnomic
or proverbial writings; e.g., the "Alphabet of Ben Sira," in
the Hebrew proverbs, but not in the Aramaic;[200] and the *'Abhōth
deRabbī Nāthān,* in which, however, the diverse forms which
have arisen for the aphoristic writings almost entirely obscure
it.[201]   In the didactic works of the medieval poets, also, several
of the proverbs are couched in the traditional antithetic form,
though by this time parallelism no longer appears as a constant
motif.   It is not surprising that it was preserved longest in
the proverbial literature of Jewish writers, for, as has been noted,
antithetic couplets or quatrains lend themselves most readily to
the expression of aphorisms and acute sayings.

The scant poetry proper of the Talmud also offers some
examples of parallelism.   It appears, for example, to a slight
degree in the elegy on the death of Hanin, in *Mō'ēdh Qāṭōn,*
25b, though marked by some ambiguity of reference.[202]   A poem
from the pen of a Palestinian sage of the fourth century, R.
Isaac bar Napaha, is "composed not only in pure Hebrew, but
is also written according to the parallelism used in biblical
poetry, and observes an equality of syllables in its lines."[203]

Zusammenhang der Mischna (Strassburg, 1909), p. 117.   Here rhyme of
varied orders, parallelism, and other formations in the Mishna are dis-
cussed.   As examples of a kind of prose parallelism, *Bābhā Bathrā* 8, 1,
Bekhōrōth, 8, 1; *'Uqeçīn,* 3, 1; *Kerīthōth,* 1, 3, and other instances are
cited.

[200] Delitzsch, *Geschichte d. jued. Poesie* (Leipzig, 1836), pp. 204–205.

[201] Baumgartner, *Poesie gnomique juive depuis le cloture du canon
hebreu, jusqu'au XVIᵉ siècle* (Geneva, 1886), p. 17.

[202] *Forms of Hebrew Poetry,* p. 30, cites an example also from *Haghīghā*
15b, which, however, is not parallelism even of the synthetic type.

[203] Sekles, pp. 99, 146.   (It may be objected that this poem shows
rather a heaping up of descriptive phrases than a genuine parallelism
of clauses.)   Examples of poems which show a trace of parallelism are
scattered through Sekles.   It is interesting to note that in connection with
the statement of the Mishna, *Mō'ēdh Qāṭōn,* 3, 8, that female professional
wailers were employed at funerals, the Talmud states that these exclaimed
as a general formula:

"Woe to him who went away,
Woe to those who are left behind."

The parallelism of a brief and abrupt kind is evident here.

Rejoice, rejoice, O thou Ark!
Arise in all of thy splendor;
Engirt with bands of gold,
Adorned with choicest gems,
Exhalted in the sanctuary of the Temple.   (*'Abhōdhā Zārā*, 24b)

It is clear then that parallelism maintained itself in a minor but none the less palpable degree in Hebrew literature after the close of the biblical Canon;[204] but the constancy and beauty of biblical parallelism disappeared with the decline of poetical productivity during the talmudic period.   The number of examples of clear poetry in the Talmud is insufficient to lay down rules of metre or prosody, nor can it be determined under what foreign influence, if any, the talmudic poets composed their works. It is possible merely to note the occasional presence of biblical forms intermixed with new elements.

In Medieval Jewish Literature

Hebrew poetry enters a new stage about the tenth century; the end of the Geonic period marks the beginning of the Arabic period.   Even at the time of Hai Gaon, the influence of Arabic poetic *motifs* of rhyme and metre become apparent.   In the *Mūsar Haskēl* attributed to him occurs perhaps "the first attempt at rhyme, containing 189 distichs of which many are merely Biblical passages rhymed."[205]   The introduction of rhyme is ascribed also to Jannai, and it was employed by Kalir, both of whom lived in or before the ninth century A.D.[206]   Thereafter despite vigorous opposition by Menahem ben Saruk, his disciples and a whole school during the Middle Ages, Arabic

---

[204] Gray speaks of the Rabbis "examining scripture with eyes blind to parallelism" (p. 27), and brings several instances to show that commentators through the second century A.D. failed to understand the principle of parallelism.   Though this conclusion may have applied to the majority of Rabbis, it by no means characterized all.   In the Mishna on *'Abhōdhā Zārā*, II, 5, Rabbi Joshua in a discussion on the Song of Songs, 1.2, uses the expression χ^{a}bhērō with reference to the second stichos of a couplet which explains a doubtful reading in the first.   If the word is translated merely as "the accompanying verse" then no reference to a parallelism can be implied; if, however, as Emslie (*The Mishnah on Idolatry*, London, 1911, p. 37), translates, χ^{a}bhērō means the "parallel verse," then it may well be that Rabbi Joshua appreciated the value of the parallelistic principle in the interpretation of doubtful passages.

[205] Baumgartner, p. 20.

[206] Graetz, Geschichte, V, 158–159.

poetic usages came more and more into favor.   For the adoption
of the whole range of these stylistic devices, Dunash ben Labrat
is most responsible, though his successors, Hasdai, Solomon ibn
Gabirol, Jehuda ha-Levi, Ibn Ezra, the Kimhis and a score of
others, brought them to a high stage of development.[207]

Parallelism, as has already been seen, had begun to disappear
in the days of the Geonim, and only in the gnomic literature
had survived to any appreciable degree.   With the advent of
Arabicised Hebrew poetry, parallelism is neglected even more.
The influence of the biblical forms is broken down; though Bible
quotations are frequently made, these are worked into the rhyme
and metre which dominate the particular poem; sometimes the
parallelism of the original is maintained, but only when it fits
the poetical purpose of the author.[208]   It will be later observed
that modern Hebrew poets are guilty of the same practice.

It is not difficult, it is true, to uncover examples of parallel-
istic couplets among the medieval poets; but these are scattered
and exceptional; the poets do not hold the *motif* for any length
of text.   The following may be cited as illustrations of occasional
parallelism, though varied metre and rhyme are also present:

1. Samuel ha-Nagid in ''On the Battle Field'':[209]

    If I pass in the midst of water   draw me out of my peril;
    If I walk in the heart of fire   rescue me from my danger.

2. Hiyya Da'udi in *Qiddūshā:*[210]

    The heights of the heavens   to you are the throne of glory,
    And the bounds of the earth   thy footstool of power and glory.

    These announce to you all glory,
    And these proclaim: ''To whom the glory?''

    The Lord God of Hosts. He is the King of Glory.

207 Brody, *Studien zu den Dichtungen Jehuda-Hal-Levi's* (Berlin, 1895),
p. 9ff.   The extent to which Hebrew imitated Arabic poetry may be
understood from the fact that the poetic terminology of the medieval Jew-
ish investigators was almost entirely Hebrew equivalents for the Arabic
phrases.   See Hartmann, *Hebraeische Verskunst* (Berlin, 1894), p. 84;
Kaempf, *Die ersten Makamen aus dem Tahkemoni oder Diwan des Harizi*
(Berlin, 1845); on Hebrew compared to Arabic metre, see pp. 17–45;
Halper, ''Scansion of Mediaeval Hebrew Poetry,'' *JQR*, n.s., IV (1913),
p. 153ff.

208 Albrecht and Brody, *The Neo-Hebrew School of Poets of the Spanish
Arabian Epoch* (London, 1906), pp. 17, 51ff.

209 *Ibid.*, p. 34.

210 *Ibid.*, p. 131.

3. Abraham ibn Ezra in *G^e'ullā*:[211]

> If my enemies spoke evil to me,
> Then I shall speak, stretching out my foot,
>
> God of Abraham has He been to me,
> And the Fear of Jacob unto me.

4. Solomon ibn Gebirol in *G^e'ullā*:[212]

> To whomsover I sell thee,
>   The husband will take up thy contention;
> To whom is the writing of divorcement,
>   Behold, I will contend thy opponent.

In all these illustrations, however, the parallelism is accidental, and is surrounded by non-parallelistic verses.[213]

Important, however, among the devices borrowed from Arabic literature by Jewish Neo-Hebraic poets is the *saj'* or rhymed prose. In this field Judah al-Harizi is the leader; his *Taχk^emōnī* is written in imitation of the style of Hariri's "Assemblies."[214] It consists of various *maqāmāt*, wherein the rhymed prose has become hebraised, and the Bible language takes the place of koranic allusions. Though Harizi employs the device skilfully, the rhyme is more important with him than parallelism, which is not so frequent as in the work of the Arabic poet. Moreover the true difference between biblical and the Neo-Hebraic parallelism herein becomes evident; the former is free, natural, spontaneous; the latter is a second-hand, artificially adapted imitation. An indication of the type of parallelism that occurs at intervals in the *Taχk^emōnī* may be seen from this selection of lively *saj'* occurring in the "*Maqāma* of the Unhappy Marriage":

> May God make long thy days,
> And keep the beauty of thy cheeks,
> And thy fruit forever flourish.
>
> Thou art sweet and beauteous to my gaze,
> And pleasant unto my sight.
>
> Thou quickenest all hearts by thy beauty,
> Thou drawest unto thee all souls by the freshness of thy cheeks.[215]

---

[211] *Ibid.*, p. 155.

[212] *Ibid.*, p. 50.

[213] Kaempf, *Nichtandalusische Poesie andalusischer Dichter aus d. 11. 12. u. 13. Jahrhunderten* (Prague, 1588), contains translations and comments on the works of these and several other poets of the time.

[214] See Kaempf, *Die ersten Makamen des Harizi, passim.*

[215] Albrecht and Brody, p. 179.

The *Piyyūṭīm*[216] of the Middle Ages also show only slight traces of parallelism; metre and rhyme and other poetical figures, refrains, puns, acrostics, abound and obscure even the genuine parallelism of the numerous biblical quotations.[217]   It may be concluded then that the infrequent parallelism which appears in medieval Hebrew poetry is neither indigenous nor significant. Though the synthesis between historic Hebrew phraseology and the many-sided prosody and rhetoric of the Arabs[218] produced many notable poems, it brought to light no parallelism which holds an important rank in its expansion and influence.[219]

In Modern Hebrew Literature

An important era in the history of Hebrew parallelism begins with the modern *Haskālā,* or "Enlightenment," movement in Germany and Russia.[220]   Moses Hayyim Luzzatto sought to emancipate Hebrew poetry from the tradition of the Middle Ages and to free it for self-expression under biblical influence.   His *Mighdal 'Oz* and *La-Yeshārīm Tchillā* show indications of a return to biblical style, but parallelism is not constant or frequent. Mendes and Wessely followed in Luzzatto's footsteps, the latter's *Shīrē Tiph'ereth* betraying some parallelism.[221]   The *Mishlē 'Asāph* of Isaac Satanow[222] are true to the character of Hebrew gnomic literature, and as in the proverbs of all peoples, parallelism is at hand:

---

[216] Hymns added to the Hebrew liturgy after the seventh century A.D.

[217] See Sulzbach, *Die religioese u. weltliche Poesie der Juden* (Trieste, 1893).   Sachs, *Festgebete der Israeliten* (Berlin, 1860), app., p. 1ff.

[218] On Arabic poetry by Jews, see Noeldeke, *Die Gedichte d. Juden in Arabien* (1864), *passim;* also Bacher, *Die hebraeische u. arabische Poesie der Juden Jemens* (Budapest, 1910), p. 73: "Die Form der Dichtungen."

[219] Credit for priority in the discovery and designation of parallelism belongs to the medieval Jewish commentators Levi ben Gershon, Ibn Ezra, and David Kimhi.   (Gray has brought the data together in *Forms,* pp. 17–18).   Azariah de Rossi devoted a chapter of his *Me'ōr 'Enayim,* "Light of the Eyes" (Mantua, 1574), to the study of Hebrew poetry, wherein he recognizes parallelism and the true character of its poetical rules.   This work underlay Lowth's famous *Praelectiones* and to it he assigns due place.

[220] See Slouschz, *Renaissance of Hebrew Literature* (Philadelphia, 1909), *passim; La poesie lyrique hébraïque contemporaine* (Paris, 1911), *passim;* Waldstein, *Modern Hebrew Literature* (New York, 1916).

[221] The selection made by Casanowitz, *Jewish Encyclopedia,* IX, 522, is not good, for synonymous parallelism is absent.

[222] Berlin, 1789 and 1792.

> On the day of thy birth thou didst weep,
>   And those about thee were glad;
> On the day of thy death thou wilt laugh,
>   And those about thee will sigh.

> Many are the beautiful wives that are hated by their husbands;
> And many are the ill-featured wives that are beloved.

This return to biblical style might have presaged a readoption of parallelism as a dominant poetic principle, but its primitive character as a poetic instrument and the number and scope of poetic and rhetorical devices at the author's command[223] operated against its popularity. Abraham Baer Gottlober's poems in the periodical *Hash-Shaχar*, "The Dawn," savor of biblical influence and make use of many biblical quotations which, however, as with the medieval poets, are couched in rhyme and metre; still his works show frequent parallelism, to which he devotes much attention in an article on modern Hebrew poetics.[224] Judah Leon Gordon, one of the foremost figures of the Hebrew renaissance, also permits parallelism to crop out at intervals:

> They but sowed the wind and ploughed the rock,
> Drew water in a sieve and threshed empty straw;

> They taught thee to run counter to life,
> To isolate thyself between walls of precepts and prescriptions,

> To be dead on earth and alive in heaven,
> To walk about in a dream and speak in thy sleep.[225]

The prose of Perez Smolenskin in *Hash-Shaχar* is so permeated with the Bible spirit that parallelism abounds; he seems to employ it entirely unconsciously, and hence it has a spontaneous and undisciplined character. But the works of the more recent poets, including Dolitzki, Frischman, Shapiro, Berditchevsky, Schneour and others have broken away more and more from biblical *motifs;* the trend of the poetry of the last decades of the nineteenth and the early years of the twentieth centuries

---

223 Abraham and Micah Lebensohn introduced Hebrew poetry to nearly all the rules of modern prosody and established the standards for future poetics.

224 *Hak-Kōkhābhīm* (Vilna, 1865), pp. 11–50.

225 Rhine, *Leon Gordon* (Philadelphia, 1910).

has been anti-biblical; hence modern poetics have held sway and the weak parallelism of previous years has been further enfeebled.[226]

Perhaps the only author to champion in writing a revival of parallelism as the characteristic Hebrew poetic form is Zeeb Yawitz. He sought to disengage Hebrew verse from modern prosody and to lead it back to the form of the Bible; his *N*ᵉ*ghīnōth minnī Qedhem,* "Melodies of Antiquity,"[227] are a paraphrase of talmudic tales in the style of the Prophets. But Yawitz understood the Hebrew language far better than he did the true nature of poetic inspiration, and his poems do not take high rank in recent Hebrew literature; his was a voice crying in the wilderness, and his productions met with no imitators.[228]

Bialik, the greatest of modern Hebrew singers, has at moments attained the heights of biblical inspiration; his *Shīrē haz-Zaʿam,* "Poems of Wrath," suggest the strength of Jeremiah;[229] and his style is "one step more towards the return to Biblical classicism" which has marked the protest against the anti-biblical tendencies of recent years; but even his poems do not exhibit sustained parallelism. They are simple, though not so simple as biblical compositions, for many poetical figures and forms of current usage are employed. Nor on Palestinian soil has parallelism gained a foothold: contributors to the various Palestinian magazines have resorted to it only occasionally; it does not appear in the folk melodies, which show metre and rhyme; the songs of the children fail to use it.[230]

It may be said that parallelism has outlived its day. It had its zenith when poetic forms were relatively undeveloped; and appears unable to regain its sway as the only dominant *motif* of Hebrew poetry. It seems to demand a sublime state of lyric emotion; Slouschz believes that it will not return to

---

[226] Slouschz, *Renaissance,* p. 181.

[227] Jerusalem, 1892; see also for a review of this work, *Ham-Mēlīç,* XXXII (1892), 289.

[228] Slouschz, *Poesie lyrique,* pp. 133–134.

[229] The *qīnā* measure is popular with many modern Hebrew poets, but parallelism does not necessarily accompany it in their compositions; see for example the *Qīnōth* by Perez (*Poesie Lyrique,* p. 155).

[230] Idelson, *Sēpher hash-Shīrīm* (Berlin, 1912), *passim.*

Hebrew poetry until a poet of majestic powers has been produced;[231] but it is not plausible to believe that the appearance even of a notable Hebrew poet will necessarily witness its resuscitation.   Inspiration equal to biblical grandeur and complexity of poetic forms are compatible.   The greatest poet uses the simplest devices, but parallelism is not the only available form. The secret of the beauty of the Psalms and the prophetic utterances lies not in their parallelism but in their inspiration.   A revival of biblical majesty in modern Hebrew poetry will come not from a restoration of parallelism, but through the rise of a unique spirit touched with the flame of ancient prophetic lyricism and vision.

[231] Slouschz, *Poesie lyrique,* p. 13, n. 1.

PARALLELISM IN AMOS

INTRODUCTION

The interplay of biblical prose and poetry is one of the most vexing questions to Old Testament investigators. The two literary forms interweave in almost all parts of biblical composition, particularly in the prophetical books. It has been difficult to set the limits to poetry, while recent students in biblical prose have complicated the problem still more by designating the apparently prosaic narrative portions as poetry. Several investigators have escaped the issue by accepting the overlapping of Hebrew verse and prose as a standard biblical practice. Moulton speaks of a middle region wherein poetry, distinguished by high parallelism, meets and interlocks with prose; the effect is a great stylistic gain in a combination of "the delight of freedom which is the spirit of prose with a sense of rhythm, which is the foundation of verse." George Adam Smith advocates the same principle, and quotes Professor Saintsbury to prove the beauty of "the double appeal of poetry and rhetoric, the magical order of poetry, and the magical apparent freedom of rhetoric."

It is unsatisfactory, however, to adopt these general conclusions without a knowledge of their full implications. Is there a twilight zone wherein poetry and prose form a *mélange?* If so, where does poetry proper end, where does prose proper end, and what is the result of their blending? These questions can be answered in some measure only by a reëxamination of the exact data present in the books of the Bible. For this purpose, the book of Amos has been chosen. It might perhaps be better to look into the didactic, the proverbial poetry, or into an epic, the Book of Job, or into the Psalms. For the literary psychology of these works is relatively simple, whereas in the prophets countless problems of vague and apparently insoluble character arise. But research in the book of Amos will at least have the merit of grappling with a double problem: first, the interrelation between prose and poetry in Hebrew literature as

a whole, and second, their interplay under the influence of the unique forces of prophecy.

The method of study into the prose, the poetry, and the *mélange* of both in Amos will proceed from the known to the unknown. The cases of indubitable prose in Amos will first be stated; the instances of clear poetry next; the third category will comprise the delicate shades of intermixture, and an attempt will be made to extract therefrom general conclusions on the process of interplay. The schematic symbols employed are adopted largely from Gray, though a similar system with some modifications was used before the latter's work was seen.

PROSE

Sheer prose is found in the superscription, 1.1, an insertion in all probability from the post-Exilic period, of a narrative historical character, similar to other prose superscriptions in the prophetic books. A second piece of sheer prose is 6.9–10, which breaks with the encompassing poetry in theme, in style, and in language; the verses seem to be a later inset, and none of the proposed reconstructions (Harper, 152) succeed in securing parallelism or poetic rhythm for the passage, also narrative, but not historical in character. It will be seen then that relatively little definite prose exists in Amos: the numerous introductory and closing prophetical phrases and refrains and the verses in the narrative portion of 7.10–17 come under different categories and need special consideration.

PARALLELISTIC POETRY
COMPLETE PARALLELISM

Clear poetry in Amos involves the question of the degree and the character of the correspondence between the parallel couplets and triplets. It is insufficient merely to label these in terms of the broad, undiscriminating categories of synonymous and antithetic parallelism; the classifications of Gray are more helpful. Complete parallelism occurs when every single term in one stichos is parallel to a term in the other, or when at least every term or group of terms in one stichos is paralleled by a

corresponding term or group of terms in the other.   The simplest
form of complete parallelism is represented by:

>   a   b
>   a′   b′

Examples from Amos are few; these are really parts of larger
periods (in these translations hyphens connect words which cor-
respond in the Hebrew either to a single word, or to words and
particles which plainly form one compound expression and
receive one accent):

>   Not-a-famine   for-bread
>   Not-a-thirst   for-water.   8.11b

It may be necessary to designate these two subperiods also as one
line or stichos:

>   Not-a-prophet   am-I
>   Not-a-prophet's-son   am-I.   7.14a

Examples of the one variation from this two-term scheme:

>   a   b
>   b′   a′

also fall under the criticism of being subperiods of larger units:

>   And-do-not-seek   Bethel,
>   And-Gilgal   do-not-enter.   5.5a

Not everything about this period is clear, for it is part of a ques-
tionable triplet; moreover it is doubtful whether the negative
of command, *'al*, should receive a full accent; as the example
is cited, it does not.

>   And-I-will-wall-up   its-breaches,
>   And-its-ruins   will-I-raise-up.   9.11b

This period seems to be part of an "envelope" construction;
though complete in itself, it is encompassed by a preceding and
following monostich, parallel each to each.   It may be concluded
then that two term periods are infrequent, except as parts of
larger units.

Three term complete parallelism is represented by:

>   a   b   c
>   a′   b′   c′

The four following illustrations are each part of larger settings,
the first three, minus a major verb, the fourth, the central por-
tion of an envelope construction:

> With-shouting   in-the-day-of   battle,
> With-a-tempest   in-the-day-of   the-whirlwind.   1.14b
>
> Cleanness-of   teeth   in-all-your-cities,
> And-lack-of   bread   in-all-your-places.   4.6b
>
> For-the-sanctuary-of   the-king   is-it,
> And-the-residence-of   royalty   is-it.   7.13b
>
> As-liveth   thy-God,   Oh-Dan;
> And-as-liveth   the-way-of   Beersheba.   8.14b

An example of a complete and independent couplet of three
terms is:

> Not-shall-escape   of-them   a-fugitive,
> And-not-shall-be-delivered   of-them   a-refugee.   9.1d

The permutations of the three-term complete parallelism are
found in some measure in Amos; though apparently there are no
examples of the forms

> a   b   c
> a′   c′   b′

Of the form

> a   b   c
> b′   a′   c′:
> And-I-will-cut-off   the-judge   from-the-midst-of-her,
> And-all-her-princes   I-will-slay   along-with-him.   2.3

The preposition *'immō* corresponds here to *miq-qirbāh,* but the
use of the prepositions here is doubtful.

The form

> a   b   c
> b′   c′   a′:
> Who-causeth-to-burst   violence   upon-the- strong,
> And-devastation   upon-the-fortress   brings.   5.9

The change from *yābhō',* "comes," to *yābhī',* "brings," improves
the parallelism.

> Take-from-me   the-noise-of   thy-songs,
> And-the-melody-of   thy-lyres   I-will-not-hear.   5.23

The preposition *mē-'ālai,* "from me," is counted here with the verb and does not receive a word accent of its own.

> Who-drink   from-bowls-of   wine,
> And-with-the-first-of   oils   they-anoint-themselves.   6.6a

The synonymity of thought is less exact here than true parallelism demands, but the correspondence of terms is perfect.

> And-laid-desolate-shall-be   the-high-places-of   Isaac,
> And-the-sanctuaries-of   Israel   shall-be-laid-waste.   7.9a

A disturbing element enters here through the presence of a following single stichos, which is treated on page 181.

> a   b   c
> c′   a′   b′
> And-he-cherished   forever   his-anger,
> And-his-wrath   he-kept   perpetually.   1.11c

A change from *way-yiṭrōph,* "and-it-tore," to *way-yiṭṭōr,* "and-he-cherished," is sanctioned by the parallelism. It will be seen also in a discussion of the Doom Song that this couplet may be a post-Amosian insertion.

> a   b   c
> c′   b′   a′
> And-who-turneth   to-morning   deep-gloom;
> And-day   into-night   he-darkeneth.   5.8b

A single stichos precedes this couplet and brings forward the question of a triplet which will be discussed below.

> He-that-builds   in-the-heavens   his-chambers,
> And-his-vault   upon-the-earth   he-established-it.   9.6

Double Structure

The double term structure exists when in the second line two or more terms occur which taken together are parallel in sense to a corresponding number of terms in the first line, though the separate terms of the one combination are not parallel to the separate terms of the other combination. In its extreme form parallelism of this variety consists of two entire lines completely parallel in sense, but of which no two terms taken separately are parallel to one another (Gray, p. 69). The numerical sym-

bol, a2, b2, etc., represents either a double member, consisting
of two synonyms, or a compound term consisting of two parts.

In Amos there is no example of the form:

> a2   b
> a′2   b′

The form

> a   b2
> a′   b′2

is illustrated by this couplet taken independently out of its back-
ground:

> For-Gilgal   shall-surely   go-into-exile,
> And-Bethel   shall-become   naught.   5.5e

> a   b2
> b′2   a′

> I-laid-waste   your-gardens   and-your-vineyards,
> And-your-fig-trees   and-your-olive-trees   the-locust-devoured.   4.9b

The emendation of *harbōth*, "the multitude of," to *heχᵉrabhtī*,
"I-laid-waste," on the basis of Wellhausen (Harper, p. 99)
makes excellent parallelism and satisfies every demand of the
context. The double terms here signify two synonyms rather
than a compound member; moreover it must be noted that the
verb of one accent: *heχᵉrabhtī*, is paralleled by a compound term
of two parts which, however, receives here only one accent:
yōkhal hag-gāzām, "the-locust-devoured." The scheme may
thus be:

> a   b2
> b′2   a′2

The lines are equal in the number of their syllables, each having
twelve, not counting the *shᵉwas;* the first scheme therefore seems
more plausible, though the test of counting the syllables is a dan-
gerous one. For another possible example of this form see below
on 2.7a.

Variations of this double structure are numerous and will
be introduced under the major subdivisions of complete and
incomplete parallelism that follow.

Incomplete Parallelism

Incomplete parallelism exists "when only some of the terms
in each of two corresponding stichoi are parallel to one another,

while the remaining terms express something which is stated once
only in the two lines.'' Sometimes one line contains a given
number of terms and another line a smaller number of terms;
this may be styled incomplete parallelism without compensation;
but if the two lines contain the same number of terms, though
only some of the terms in the two lines are parallel, the lines may
be said to constitute incomplete parallelism with compensation
(Gray, p. 74).

<div align="center">WITHOUT COMPENSATION</div>

<div align="center">

a   b   c

b'   c'

</div>

But-I-destroyed his-fruit from-above,	
And-his-roots from-beneath.	2.9c
And-I-raised-up some-of-your-sons for-prophets,	
And-some-of-your-youths for-Nazirites.	2.11a
Surely-I-know how-manifold are-your-transgressions,	
And-mighty-are your-sins.	5.12a
And-I-will-turn your-feasts into-mourning,	
And-all-your-songs into-lamentation.	8.10a
And-I-will-bring upon-all-loins sackcloth,	
And-on-every-head baldness.	8.10b
And-they-shall-wander from-sea to-sea,	
And-from-the-north even-to-the-rising-of-the-sun.	8.12a

This last example gives Harper trouble, for he adds to the second
stichos the verb $y^e sh\bar{o}te t\bar{u}$, which according to the Massoretic
division goes with the next period. The equal length of the two
stichoi as they stand and the prevalence throughout prophetic
literature of the figure in 8.12b argue against Harper's arrange-
ment.

<div align="center">

a   b   c

a'   b'

</div>

Who-lie upon-beds-of ivory,	
And-stretch-themselves upon-their-couches.	6.4a

The terms ''ivory'' may be paralleled by the suffix *ām*, ''their,''
but this is doubtful.

And-it-devoured the-great deep	
And-would-have-eaten the-land.	7.4a

The word *rabbā*, "great," in the Hebrew is the third term in the first stichos; it is difficult, as with the word *rabbīm*, "many," below, to show this in the translation.

<pre>
        a   b . c
             b'   a'
Because-they-have-rejected   the-law-of   Yahwe,
And-his-statutes have-they-not-kept.   2.4b
</pre>

<pre>
        I-abhor the-pride-of Jacob,
        And-his-palaces do-I-hate.   6.8a
</pre>

<pre>
And-there-shall-drop   the-mountains   sweet-wine,
And-all-the-hills   shall-melt.   9.13b
</pre>

The length of these two stichoi in the Hebrew is almost equal because the reduplicated root *tithmōghaghnā*, "shall melt," has two beats.

<pre>
        a·   b   c
        a'   c'
And-he-shall-bring-down   from-thee   thy-strength,
And-plundered-shall-be   thy-palaces.   3.11b
</pre>

<pre>
Shall-not-darkness-be   the-day-of-Yahwe, and-not-light,
Yea, deep-darkness,   and-no-brightness-in-it?   5.20
</pre>

Another arrangement could be in the form of an alternate parallelism as follows:

<pre>
        a   b   c || d
        a' || d'
Do-there-run   upon-the-rock horses,
Does-one-plough   (there)   with-oxen.   6.12a
</pre>

Doubt attaches to this verse. Harper (p. 153ff.) reads the second stichos "Does-one-plough   the-sea   with-oxen"; he breaks up the unusual plural *bab-bᵉqārīm* into *bab-bāqār yām*. Though the reading and scheme given are substantiated by the Jewish Translation, this emendation seems plausible; the scheme then becomes:

<pre>
        a   b   c
        a'   c'   b'
</pre>

<pre>
        a2   b
        a'   b'
I-hate, I-despise your-feasts,
And-I-will-not-smell   in-your-festivals.   5.21
</pre>

This couplet has two verses metrically equal, though the first stichos, perhaps for emphasis, has two verbs. The schematization may be:

```
a    a'   b
a"   b'
```

Compare 4.9a, and below, on reduplication.

```
a2   b
b'   a'
```

And-eat-there bread,
And-there prophesy.   7.12b

Though this couplet is part of a larger whole and may constitute only one stichos with two parallel hemistichs, it may be treated independently. In this arrangement though the word *shām,* "there," interposes, "eat-bread" is taken as a compound double term. If they be separated the scheme becomes:

```
a    b    c
     b'   a'
```

or

```
a    b    c
     b'   d
```

In either of these two forms, the principle of fresh terms is introduced, of which numerous illustrations are found in Amos (see below).

```
a    b    c
a'   d
```

And-cut-off-shall-be   the-horns-of   the-altar,
And-they-shall-fall   to-the-ground.   3.14b

Perhaps a third term should be added in the second stichos, though no evidence points to the nature of the term. Another possible arrangement of this is:

```
a    b    c
a'2
```

For-three sins-of Damascus,
Yea-for-four, I-will-not-revoke-it.

This occurs as the introductory formula in the Doom Song, 1.3a, 6a, 9, 11a, 13a; 2.1a, 4a, 6a; in each case, the name is changed. The two stichoi are metrically equal; though the first itself has no verb it is understood from the second stichos; the use of the terms "three" and "four" is the link which binds the two stichoi into a parallel couplet.

WITH COMPENSATION

Double Structure

Incomplete parallelism with compensation, in its various types, is assisted by the double term structure and by the fresh term *motif*. Examples of the double terms compensation are as follows:

```
        a    b    c
             b'   c'2
```

Yahwe   from-Zion   roars,
And-from-Jerusalem   he-utters   his-voice.   1.2a

Proclaim   over-the-palaces   in-Ashdod,
And-over-the-palaces   in-the-land-of   Egypt.   3.9a

The word *hashmīʿū,* "proclaim," is here a part of the parallelism, and is different from the phrases of postlude and prelude which the prophet employs before and after his main speeches.

And-he-shall-lift-up   you   with-hooks,
And-the-last-of-you   with-fish   hooks.   4.2

Doubt attaches to this verse (Harper, p. 85). It is difficult to render in the translation the fact that *dūghā* is the third term in the second stichos; it should in reality be read: "hooks of fish"; it is also difficult to show in the translation the double character of the compound phrase.

Go-to   Bethel   and-transgress;
To-Gilgal   and-multiply   transgression.   4.4a

Woe-to   those-that-are-at-ease   in-Zion,
And-those-that-are-secure   in-the-mountain-of   Samaria.   6.1a

And-those-who-eat   lambs   out-of-the-flock,
And-calves   from-the-midst-of   the-stall.   6.4b

The preposition *mit-tōkh* receives here a full word accent.

Hear-this,   ye-that-tread   the-needy,
And-ye-who-would-make-cease   the-poor-of   the-earth.   8.4a

Again as in 3.9a a prophetic prelude phrase receives a word accent and is accounted as part of the parallelism. Moreover in the first stichos the word *'ebhyōn,* which has but one accent, is paralleled in the second stichos by *'anīyē-'ereç,* which has two accents.

```
            a·     b     c
                   b′2   c′
```
And-I-will-cut-off   the-inhabitant   from-Bikath-Awen,
And-the-holder-of   the-sceptre   ·from-Beth-Eden.   1.5b, 8a

Bring   every-morning   your-sacrifices,
Every-three   days   your-tithes.   4.4b

The phrase *li-sheōsheth yāmīm* translated by the Jewish Trans-
lation ''after three days'' gives difficulty (Harper, p. 92) ; the
schematic arrangement, however, is unaffected.

```
            a     b     .c
            c′    b′2
```
Because-they-sell   for-silver   the-righteous,
And-the-needy   for-the-value-of   a-pair-of-shoes.   2.6b

To-buy   for-silver   the-poor,
And-the-needy   for-the-value-of   a-pair-of-shoes.   8.6

These two almost identical verses both have in the second stichos
the preposition *ba-'abhūr,* which means ''for the sake of'' or
''on account of.'' Though a preposition, it receives a full word
accent, as did *mit-tōkh* in 6.4b, and hence is translated ''for-
the-value-of'' in order to show that it is a distinctive element
in the thought.

And-they-shall-call   the-husbandman   to-mourning,
And-to-wailing   those-skilled   in-lamentation.   5.16b

This couplet occurs in a larger setting; Harper treats it as cor-
rupt and omits the second stichos entirely, thus destroying the
parallelism. The error may perhaps lie in the first stichos of
verse 17 (see below). Difficulty also attaches to the grammatical
construction. (Harper, p. 126ff.)

But-let-well-up   like-waters   justice,
And-righteousness   as-a-stream   ever-flowing.   5.24

```
            a     b     c
            c′2   a′
```
They-hate   him-that-in-the-gate   reproveth,
And-one-who-speaks   uprightly   they-abhor.   5.10

```
            a     b     c
            c′    a′2
```
They-who-turn   to-wormwood   judgment,
And-righteousness   to-the-ground   they-cast.   5.7

A slight doubt attaches to this couplet; the scheme may be:

<pre>
a   b   c
c'   d   a'
</pre>

<pre>
a   b   c
c'2 b'
</pre>

Who-like-the-height-of   the-cedars   was-he-high,
And-strong   was-he   like-the-oaks.   2.9b

This couplet permits of other schematizations:

<pre>
a2   b
.b'2 a'
</pre>

This takes in the first stichos k^e-$gh\bar{o}bhah$-'$^ar\bar{a}z\bar{\imath}m$ as one word accent, and in the second $\chi\bar{a}\varsigma\bar{o}n$-$h\bar{u}$' as one accent.

<pre>
a   b   c
c'   b'
</pre>

This regards $\chi\bar{a}\varsigma\bar{o}n$-$h\bar{u}$' as one word accent. But it is better to give $h\bar{u}$' in itself one accent and retain the first scheme.

For   ye-have-turned   to-poison   justice,
And-the-fruit-of   righteousness   to-wormwood.   6.12b

Fresh Term Structure

Incomplete parallelism with compensation by means of a fresh term or terms appears in several variations: The forms

<pre>
a   b
b'   c
</pre>

and

<pre>
a   b
a'   c
</pre>

have no instances in Amos.

The fresh terms may be either one, two, or three in number.

<pre>
a   b   c
a'   b'   d
</pre>

The couplets in 3.15b, 8.8b, and 9.5b may come under this classification, but they will be discussed under others below.

And-there-shall-perish   the-houses-of   ivory,
And-there-shall-cease   many   houses.   3.15b

As in 7.4, the translation does not show that *rabbīm* stands after its noun, and is the third member in the stichos.   While in 6.4

the word "ivory" may perhaps have the suffix "their" as a corresponding term, here it has the weak "many." The form may be also:

```
a     b̆     c
a'    b'    c'

a     b     c
a'    d     c'
```

And-I-will-turn   my-hand   against-Ekron,
And-there-shall-perish   the-remnant-of   the-Philistines.   1.8b

And-I-will-cause-to-set   the-sun   at-noon,
And-I-will-darken   the-earth   in-the-clear-day.   8.9

If it be argued that *lā-'āreç* is parallel to *hash-shemesh,* then the arrangement becomes:

```
a     b     c
a'    b'    c'
```

And-I-will-send   fire   into-Teman,
And-it-will-devour   the-palaces-of   Bosra.   1.12

And-I-will-send   fire   into-Judah,
And-it-will-devour   the-palaces-of   Jerusalem.   2.5

And-I-will-send   fire   into-Moab,
And-it-will-devour   the-palaces-of   Kerioth.   2.2

These are three of the instances of the punishment formula in the Doom Song. The other instances occur under the four term variations (see below; see also a discussion on 5.6b).

```
a     b     c
d     b'·   c'
```

And-I-will-make-it   as-the-mourning   for-an-only-son,
And-the-end-thereof   as-a-day-of   bitterness.   8.10c

```
a     b     c
c'    b'    d
```

By-the-sword   shall-die   Jeroboam,
And-Israel   shall-surely-be-exiled   from-his-land.   7.11

The question of word accents here is troublesome. The phrase *gālō-yighlè* receives only one word accent to correspond with *yāmūth;* the same is true of *mē-'al-'adhmāthō.*

```
a     b2
a'    b'    c
```

And-it-rises-up   like-the-Nile   all-of-it,
And-sinks   like-the-Nile-of   Egypt.   9.5b

This couplet is identical with 8.8, except for the fact that the latter contains in the second stichos at its head we-$nighr^esh\bar{a}$, "and-heave"; this is clearly a gloss which for several reasons (Harper, p. 180) can be omitted. It has already been suggested that these couplets could come under the form:

```
        a     b     c
        a′    b′    d

        a     b2
        a′    c     b′
Are-they-better   than-these   kingdoms,
Is-greater   their-border   than-your-border.                6.2b
```

The suffixes here cause difficulty, and the meaning is not entirely clear in the light of the preceding and following stichoi; the parallelism is, however, unaffected (Harper, p. 145).

A group of couplets wherein parallelism with compensation occurs, though the text itself is in a doubtful state, is found in 2.14–16.   As the strophe on the punishment which is to overtake the strongest and swiftest now stands, its schematic character is:

```
        a     b     c         a2    b
        c′    a′    b′        a′2   b′2

        a     b     c         a2    b    c    d
        a′2   b′
```

Three couplets and a single stichos make up the series; but the fact that several repetitions mar the text and the fact that the Massoretic division of verses 14 and 15 makes each contain three stichoi, while verse 16 has an extra long and repetitious line, throws doubt upon the state of the passage. It seems plausible that the author intended that the strophe should contain three parallel couplets, and that the text should contain as few repetitions as possible. Various reconstructions have been suggested, but none have kept in mind the need for parallelistic couplets. The following restoration is therefore suggested:

we-$'\bar{a}bhadh\ m\bar{a}n\bar{o}s\ miq$-$q\bar{a}l$
we-$qal\ b^e$-$raghl\bar{a}w\ l\bar{o}'\ yimm\bar{a}l\bar{e}t$ 14a, 15b

we-$\chi\bar{a}z\bar{a}q\ l\bar{o}'\ y^eamme\varsigma\ q\bar{o}\chi\bar{o}$
we-$ghibb\bar{o}r\ l\bar{o}'\ ya\varsigma\varsigma\bar{\imath}l\ naphsh\bar{o}$ 14b, 14c

w^e-thŏphēs qeshcth lō' ya'^amōdh
w^e-rōkhēbh has-sūs yānūs   15a, 15c, 16b

And-there-shall-fail   refuge   from-the-swift,
And-the-speedy-of-foot   shall-not-escape,

And-the-strong,   not-shall-avail   his-strength,
And-the-warrior   not-shall-he-deliver   himself,

And-he-that-handles   a-bow   shall-not-stand,
And-the-rider-of-a-horse   shall-flee.

This arrangement is by no means free from criticism. In the
first couplet, there is a repetition of the word *qal* which on the
principle that identical repetitions mar the form, is not satis-
factory, despite the fact that the phrase in reality is *qal b^e-raglāw*,
''speedy-of-foot.'' In the second couplet, the first stichos seems
justifiable, but the second demands the change of the words:
y^emāllēṭ naphsho to *yaççīl naphshō* to avoid repetition (cf. Amos
3.12; Is. 44.20, etc.) ; or the root *pālaṭ* might be substituted for
mālaṭ in one case. The third couplet has the virtue of bringing
together the stichoi which contain a subject with a modifier,
which in the schematization becomes a2 and a'2. The difficulty
lies, however, with the word *'ārūm* in verse 16. There the words
w^e-'ammīç libbō bag-gibbōrīm appear to be a dittography or
variant of *y^e'ammēç qōχō w^e-gibbōr* in verse 14, hence they can
be omitted. It is significant to note, however, that verse 16 is
the only stichos which declares flight not in the negative, but in
the affirmative. In the arrangement given above, the word *'ārūm*
is omitted, though it may be inserted in the second stichos of the
third couplet, giving: ''and the rider of a horse naked shall he
flee.'' It may be possible, however, to place the word *'ārūm*
in the first stichos of this last couplet, and to interpret the word
''naked'' as meaning ''without weapon.'' The form then
becomes:

And-he-that-handles-a-bow   naked   shall-stand,
And-he-that-rides-a-horse   shall-not-flee.

In addition to the change remarked in the first stichos, it is seen
that the *lō'* is transposed to the second stichos; this makes the
sense that even the one best equipped to flee will be unable to do
so. The schematic arrangement of these suggestions becomes:

```
        a     b     c
        c'2   a'

        a     b     c
        a'    b'2

        a2    b
        a'2b  b'
```

or the last couplet is:

```
        a2    b     c
        a'2   b';
```

Whatever may be thought of these suggestions, it seems indisputable that a sextet of stichoi, divided into three pairs, may have been in the original text.   Hence the principle of couplet parallelism has proved here a valuable aid.   The long line, apparently prose, in verse 16 has shown itself to be illegitimate, once more vindicating the principle that a breakdown of the parallelism and the presence of an unattached single line, whether isolated, or supposedly a part of a triplet, in Amos are in reality due to textual corruption (see below).

Four Term Variations

Four term variations are not frequent in Amos, and there is no instance of the form:

```
        a     b     c     d
        a'    b'    c'    d'
```

But the following scheme is present wherein the second stichos is shorter than the first:

```
        a     b     c     d
        a'    c'    d'
```

And-one-shall-smite   the-great   house   into-splinters,
And-the-small   house   into-chips.   6.11

Again it is difficult in the translation to show that the terms "great" and "small" occur after and not before their nouns in the Hebrew.

So-I-will-send   a-fire   into-the-house-of   Hazael,
And-it-will-devour   the-palaces-of   Benhadad.   1.4

This instance from the formula of destruction in the Doom Song presents a different scheme from 1.12; 2.2, 5.   The formulas in 1.7, 10, 14, depending on the question whether one regard the

word *arm^enōthêhā*, "its palaces," as deserving of one accent, or of two, whereby the suffix *êhā*, "its," corresponds to the name of the respective city, can take either this scheme:

<div style="text-align:center">

a   b   c   d
a′   c′

</div>

or this:

<div style="text-align:center">

a   b   c   d
a′   c′   d′

So-I-will-send a-fire on-the-wall-of Gaza, (Tyre, Rabba)
And-it-will-devour its-palaces (or, the palaces thereof).

</div>

Forms with three terms in the first stichos and four in the second are found in numerous combinations:

<div style="text-align:center">

a   b   c
d   a′   b′   c′

Who-twitter to-the-sound-of the-harp,
Like-David they-devise-for-themselves instruments-of song. 6.5

</div>

This couplet is dubious: the word *k^e-Dāwīdh* is probably a gloss (Harper, p. 147); if omitted the scheme becomes:

<div style="text-align:center">

a   b   c
a′   b′   c′

</div>

Doubt also attaches to the distribution of the accents in this couplet; the word *lāhem*, "for themselves," being reckoned in with *χāsh^ebhū*, "they devise," the total receives but one beat.

<div style="text-align:center">

a   b   c
a′   b′   c′2

In-all the-broad-places there-shall-be-lamentation,
And-in-all the-streets they-shall-say:Alas,-Alas.   5.16a

</div>

This couplet occurs in a setting wherein corruption is evident. This schematization of the text regards, contrary to the customary usage, the word *b^e-khol* in both stichoi as worthy of a full word accent. Harper (p. 126ff.) suggests that the word *'^adhōnāi* at the end of the prophetic phrase introducing the couplet be read *'arnīn*, "I will cause shouting":

<div style="text-align:center">

I-will-cause shouting in-all-the-squares for-mourning,
And-in-all-the-streets they-shall-say:Woe,Woe.

</div>

This gives to *b^e-khol-r^eχōbōth* and *b^e-khol-χūçōth* only one word accent, thus conforming with the Massoretic *maqqēph* (see Gray, pp. 138–140). The arrangement thus becomes:

```
              a     b     c
              b'    c'2
```
Or
```
              a     b     c
              b'    a'    c'
```

```
              a     b     c
                    b'2   c'2
```
When there-shall-overtake the-ploughman the-reaper,
And-the-treader-of grapes him-who-soweth seed.   9.13a

Again the question of word tone enters to throw doubt on this
arrangement.   There are here four words of major character in
the second stichos to express two compound ideas corresponding
to two simple nouns in the first stichos with only one accent
each; the scheme may thus be, though with less plausibility,

```
              a     b     c
                    b'    c'
```

The following couplet contains several peculiarities; the first
is the phrase *isht^ekhā bā-'īr*, "thy wife in the city," the second
the double subject in the second stichos, together with the
unusual idea "thy daughters shall fall by the sword." As the
couplet stands it reads:

Thy-wife in-the-city shall-be-a-harlot,
And-thy-sons and-thy-daughters by-the-sword shall-fall.   7.17a
```
              a     b     c
              a'2   d2
```
Or
```
              a    .b     c
              a'2   d     c'
```

A reassortment of the phrases here would be necessary to
give a good parallelistic couplet; the omission of the word
ū-bh^enōthēkhā would make the scheme:

```
              a     b     c
              a'    d2
```

Another doubtful couplet occurs in 8.13.   As it stands it
falls into this scheme:

```
              a     b     c
                    b'    d
```
There-shall-faint the-beautiful virgins,
And-the-youths from-thirst.

The Jewish Translation glides over the difficulty by translating without regard to the parallelism:

> In that day shall the fair virgins,
> And the young men faint for thirst.

Harper (p. 183 ff.), recognizing the flaw in the text, transposes the end period of verse 14 and makes this combination:

> There-shall-faint   the-beautiful   virgins,
> And-the-youths   shall-fall   and-not-rise-again.

This gives the schematization:

> a   b   c
> b′   a′   d2

A suggestion may be made that the emphasis upon the word *hay-yāphōth,* "the beautiful," is unnecessary, and that instead a form of the root *yāʻēph,* "to be weary," or "faint," should be substituted.   This is borne out by Is. 40.30, where the root is used of youths, *nᵉʻārīm,* as a parallel to the word used by Amos, *baχūrīm.* Moreover in Is. 44.12, the root is used in connection with hunger and thirst, both of which are mentioned immediately before this verse in Amos 8.11–12.   In Judges 8.15, the participial adjective is used of weakness from lack of bread, and in II Sam. 16.2 from lack of drink.   The following emendations may be suggested:

> 1. *tithʻallaphnā hab-bᵉthūlōth ha-yᵉʻēphōth,*
>   *wᵉhab-baχūrīm yiçmāʼū.*
>   There-shall-faint   the-virgins   who-are-weary,
>   And-the-youths   shall-be-in-thirst.
> 2. *tithʻallaphnā hab-bᵉthūlōth,*
>   *wᵉ-yāʻᵃphū hab-baχūrīm baç-çāmāʼ.*
>   There-shall-faint   the-virgins,
>   And-there-shall-grow-weak   the-youths   from-thirst.

The schematization of this couplet thus becomes,

> a   b
> a′   b′   c

This form is unusual, but it will be noted that the reduplicated root *tithʻallaphnā* may take two beats, as in the case of *tithmōghaghnā* in 9.13b.

What may be either a four or a three term structure depending upon the distribution of word accents is found in this couplet:

> Lest-it-kindle   like-fire   the-house-of   Joseph,
> And-it-devour   with-none-to-extinguish   for-Bethel.   5.6b

The Septuagint, some manuscripts, and the demands of parallel-
ism point toward the reading "for Israel" instead of "for
Bethel." Moreover the terms are not entirely clear in sense.
The schematic arrangement becomes:

$$a \quad b \quad c2$$
$$a' \quad d \quad c'$$

There are four terms here referring to fire; in the second stichos
the phrase we-'$\bar{e}n$ $mekhabb\grave{e}$, "with-none-to-extinguish," receives
one accent; it is doubtful whether it should be taken as a new
term, or as a synonymous term to $k\bar{a}$-'$\bar{e}sh$ in the first stichos;
moreover the name Beth-Yōsēph receives here two word accents;
it may be better to give it only one; another schematic arrange-
ment thus becomes:

$$a \quad b \quad c$$
$$a' \quad b' \quad c'$$

REDUPLICATION

Reduplication or internal synonymity occurs often in Amos.
This differs from the mere double synonymous term or double
compound term species, in that in the same stichos there are two
shades of the same idea; the two hemistichs are parallel each to
each; the synonymity and parallelism extend also to the second
stichos, so that there are cases where three terms for the same
thought are employed. It will be seen also that this redupli-
cation results in a type of triplet formation. (See Gray's
remarks, pp. 159–166.)

$$a \quad b \quad c$$
$$b' \quad b''2$$

> And-there-shall-perish   in-tumult   Moab,
> With-shouting   and-the-sound-of   the-trumpet.   2.2b

$$a \quad b \quad c$$
$$a' \quad c' \quad a''$$

> And-burn   of-leavened-bread   a-thankoffering
> And-proclaim   free-will-offerings,   make-them-known.   4.5a

Doubt attaches to the word $hashm\bar{\imath}$'$\bar{u}$, though as a synonym for
qir'$\bar{u}$ it is intelligible. But the repetition results in a special
emphasis on the idea of proclamation or invitation, rather than

on that of the offering itself; perhaps then the text is corrupt, and a parallel term to $m\bar{e}$-$\chi\bar{a}m\bar{e}\varsigma$, "of leavened bread," should be sought to replace $hashm\bar{i}'\bar{u}$, "make them known."

```
a     a'    b
a"    b'
```
I-hate, I-despise your-feasts,
And-I-will-not-smell of-your-festivals.   5.21

This has already been discussed under the form $\left\{\begin{smallmatrix} a2 & b \\ a' & b \end{smallmatrix}\right\}$. The arrangement given here eliminates the confusion attaching to the use of the symbol a2 for a double synonymous term in the same stichos, which may thus be viewed as reduplication. Compare 8.17a.

```
a     b     a'    b'
a"    b"2
```
Diminishing-the-ephah, and-enlarging the-shekel,
And-perverting balances-of deceit.   8.5b

This form may be regarded either as a triplet, wherein the first two hemistichoi become stichoi of two stresses each, and the third contains three stresses; or the first stichos may continue as here to hold two hemistichoi of two stresses each, giving a couplet wherein the first stichos contains four and the second three accents. (See Gray, p. 164.) It is virtually impossible to fix a rule for the determination of all instances of this character; each must be decided on its own merits, though a guiding principle may be the strength of the pause or caesura between the two first hemistichs.

```
a     b     a'    b'
a"    c     b"
```
Hate evil, and-love good,
And-establish in-the-gate justice.   5.15a

Here there is an internal antithetic parallelism in the first stichos, or if 5.15b be regarded as a triplet, between the first and second stichos; the term *bash-sha' ar* is the only alien term in the scheme, for the three verbs and the three objects are respectively either synonymous or antithetical.

```
a     b     a'    b'
a"    b"    a"'   2
```

Not-a-prophet   am-I,   and-not-a-prophet's-son   am-I,
But-a-shepherd   am-I,   and-a-dresser-of   sycamores.   7.14

Here the question whether the hemistichs should be counted
as full stichoi, independent and composed of two stresses, though
part of a larger setting, receives further complication. The first
stichos has already been treated independently as a two stress
distich (see above). It is therefore possible to treat this verse
either as a double distich, or as a two part couplet. It is almost
impossible to determine which is preferable. The usual number
of stresses is three; four are infrequent, two still more infre-
quent; hence it is a choice between considering this as a four or
two stress scheme. It is to be noted that the fourth part of the
quadruple form breaks the synonymity of language, but retains
the necessary number of stresses. Viewed independently the
second line can be:

                    a   b
                    a′   c
or

                    a   b
                    a′2

                    a   b   c
                    a′   a″2   d
And-thy-land   by-the-line   shall-be-divided,
And-thou   on-an-unclean-land   shalt-die.   7.17b

This presents an involved type of parallelism; a third stichos
complicates the passage, though this couplet appears to be inde-
pendent (see below). Here the word "land" in the first stichos
finds in position and thought a complement in "thou" at the
head of the second stichos. The parallelism does not cease here,
for there is a parallelism of language and an implied antithesis
of thought also between "thy-land" in stichos 1 and "an-unclean-
land" in stichos 2, the former being "clean and holy." The
schematic arrangement here given serves to bring out in a
measure the double parallelism, though it neglects partly the
grammatical construction of '*al-'adhāmā ṭᵉmē'ā*, a noun with a
preposition, looked upon as a double compound term, as parallel
to *admāthᵉkhā*, which is the subject in the first stichos and
receives only one word accent. For this of course the intricacy

of the parallelism is responsible. Compare 9.15, where difficulty with the words *'al 'adhmāth^{e}khā* is again present.

<div align="center">

ALTERNATE PARALLELISM

CLEAR PARALLELISM

</div>

Alternate parallelism occurs when the two stichoi contain more than four or as few as four terms, and break up into two independent clauses, so that the third part is parallel to the first and the fourth to the second. In many examples of Arabic *saj'* or rhymed prose, nearly all the parallel sections fall into two independent clauses, subordinate from the view of the parallelism which knits together the two main stichoi, but marked by rhyme which connects them at the same time that it emphasizes their distinction; sometimes one type of rhyme is present for the first and third, and another for the second and fourth sections of the quatrain. In the Hebrew, no rhyme occurs, but the caesura between the individual parts is strongly marked (Gray, pp. 62–63).

<div align="center">

a	b	c	‖	d	e
a′	b′	c′	‖	d′	e′

</div>

A series of alternate parallelisms of this type occurs in Amos (3.3ff.): verses 3, 4, 5, 6, conform to this type; verse 3, however, contains only a single line which splits into two parts; verses 4, 5, 6 have two lines, thus giving to each Massoretic verse four sections, two main and two subordinate. Verse 7 breaks the stretch of alternate parallelism, but verse 8 resumes it, though the form is slightly changed, four instead of five terms being present:

<div align="center">

a	b	‖	c	d
a′	b′	‖	c′	d′

</div>

The lack of a second stichos in verse 3 lends the impression either that the verse is in the nature of an introduction, setting the keynote for the series, or that a complementary stichos has dropped out.

The arrangement of verse 7 is difficult. For the moment it may be arranged:

<div align="center">

x a	b	c
x′a′	c′	d2

</div>

The parallelism in the Hebrew is not so close as the scheme indicates; the verse has a traditional prophetic character, and must be considered under the category of near-prose. Suggestions have been made either to place it after verse 8, or to omit it entirely as a gloss. The first suggestion would give five consecutive verses of excellent alternate parallelism:

(3)
Do-there-walk two   together,
 .Except they-be-agreed?

. . . .
. . . .

(4)
Does-there-roar a-lion in-the-forest,
     When-a-prey he-hath-not?
Does-there-give-forth-his-voice a-young-lion from-his-den,
     If-he-hath-not taken-something?

(5)
Does-there-fall a-bird in-a-snare-on-the-ground,
     If-a-hunter there-be-not-for-it?
Does-there-spring-up a-trap from-the-ground,
     Without-capturing anything-at-all? (i.e., unless it be sprung).

(6)
Shall-there-sound a-trumpet in-the-city,
     And-the-people not-be-afraid?
Shall-there-be evil in-the-city,
     And-the-Lord not-have-done-it?

(7)
For not-doth the-Lord-God anything,
Except-he-reveal his-purpose to-his-servants, the prophets.

(8)
The-Lion has-roared;
     Who will-not-fear?
The-Lord-God hath-spoken;
     Who can-but-prophesy?

In verse 6, it may be urged that the parallelism between "trumpet" and "evil" is not sufficiently close, and that the second half of the quatrain has been inserted by reason of verse 7; a substitute could be found in the more synonymous two part line:

'im tihyè terū'ā bā-'īr (or *baq-qiryā*)
 we-'am lō' yāqūmū (or *yiphχᵃdhū*)
     Shall-there-be a-clarion-blast in-the-city,
         And-the-people not-rise-in-terror?

But there seems little ground thus to omit and substitute; rather as first suggested, verse 7 seems more indefensible and misplaced, and should either be transposed or ruled out. Compare Hosea 10.10, 11.

Another series of alternate parallelisms of a similar character is found in 9.2–4. Again, however, difficulties arise, for verses 2 and 3 each have two stichoi and four subordinate parts, while verse 4 diverges from this plan. The schematic arrangement is as follows:

```
                        (2)
        a     b     c    ‖    d    e
        a′    b′    c′   ‖    d′   e′
                      (3, 4)
        a     b     c2   ‖    d    e     f
        a′    b′    gc′2 ‖    d    e2    f′
        a″    h2    i2   ‖    d″   e″2   f″
```

Noting the lacunae, the text at present reads:

<p style="text-align:center">(2)</p>

Though   they-dig-through   to-Sheol,
   Thence   shall-my-hand-take-them;
And-though   they-climb   to-heaven,
   Thence   will-I-bring-them-down.

<p style="text-align:center">(3)</p>

And-though   they-hide-themselves   at-the-top-of   Carmel,
   Thence   will-I-search-them-out   and-take-them,
And-though   they-hide   from-before-my-eyes   at-the-bottom-of
   the-sea,

  . . . .

  . . . .

   Thence   will-I-command   the-serpent   and-it-will   bite-them,

<p style="text-align:center">(4)</p>

And-though   they-go   into-captivity   before-their-enemies,
   Thence   will-I-command   the-sword   and-it-will-slay-them.

The schematic arrangement shows that as the text stands it contains a couplet and a triplet, or two quatrains, and a half quatrain. Various suggestions have been made to explain the use of ''serpent'' in verse 3, one of which is to make it refer to the Leviathan. Amos, however, speaks of the serpent as a creature of the fields and of the house (5.19), not of the sea. The suggestion that a scribe may have omitted the fourth part of

verse 3, and the first part of the third quatrain in order to make
the whole conform to the Leviathan legend, is far fetched, for
though he might change a few words, it is doubtful whether
he would omit a whole sentence.   Moreover the Massoretic
verse 4 has after the end of the quatrain arrangement, the sen-
tence: "And-I-shall-place my-eyes upon-them for-evil and-
not-for-good."   The missing sections may find some hint for
restoration here; verse 3, part 3 mentions the fact that the
sinners would escape from God's eyes; the arrangement becomes
perhaps:

> . And-though   they-hide   from-before-my-eyes   at-the-bottom-of   the-
>   sea,
>   I-will-place   my-eyes   upon-them   for-evil,   and-not-for-good.

This would mean that only the first part of the third quatrain
is absent.   However, it has been suggested that the phrase
min-neghedh 'ēnai, "from-before-my-eyes," be omitted in verse
3; the last part of verse 4 may have been inserted on the basis
of this expression, which itself may have been an insertion.
It is evident that the verses are in confusion, and that they
have been jostled together for one reason or another; a restora-
tion is difficult, the one here suggested being poor, because among
other things it neglects the use of the phrase *mish-shām* at the
beginning of each second part and fourth part of the quatrain.
The schematic character in its proper form, to be filled in with
the missing portions should be:

$$
\begin{array}{ccccccc}
 & & (2) & & & & \\
a & b & c & \| & d & e & \\
a' & b' & c' & \| & d' & e' & \\
 & & (3) & & & & \\
a & b & c2 & \| & d & e & f \\
a' & b' & c'2 & \| & . & . & . & . & . \\
 & & (4) & & & & \\
. & . & . & . & . & \| & d & e & g & h \\
a' & b'2 & c'2 & \| & d' & e & g' & h'
\end{array}
$$

A series of a different character is found in 5.11b and 9.14b.

$$
\begin{array}{cccccc}
a & b & c & \| & d & e \\
a & b & c & \| & d & e
\end{array}
$$

> Houses-of   hewn-stone   have-ye-built,
>   But-ye-shall-not-dwell   in-them;
> Vineyards-of   delight   have-ye-planted,
>   But-ye-shall-not-drink   their-wine.   5.11b

```
        And-they-shall-plant   vineyards,
          And-drink   their-wine,
        And-they-shall-make   gardens,
          And-eat   their-fruit.                              9.14b
```

Several variations of these forms occur, among which it will be seen the *qinā* measure may be included as well perhaps as the form

```
            a     b     c
            a′    b′
```

and its several variations which have already been discussed.

```
            a     b     c    ‖    d     e
                        c′   ‖    d′    e′
        When   will-pass   the-new-moon
          That-we-may-sell   grain,
        And-the-Sabbath
          That-we-may-offer   corn.                    8.5a  (Cf. 5.20)
```

```
            a     b     c    ‖    d     e
            a′    b′    c′   ‖    d′2
        And-because   garments   taken-in-pledge   they-spread-out,
          Beside   every-altar;
        And-the-wine   of-those-that-have-been-fined   they-drink,
          In-the-house   of-their-God.                          2.8
```

The Jewish Translation shifts the second parts of the sentences into the first and third, thus:

```
        And they lay themselves down beside every altar
          Upon clothes taken in pledge,
        And in the house of their God they drink
          The wine of them that have been fined.
```

This violates in some degree the Hebrew arrangement, wherein a prepositional phrase, not in itself a complete period, makes up the subordinate parts of the sentences. This usage in the Hebrew seems to show that as in modern poetry, a part of a quatrain need not express a full or a complete independent part of a full idea, but may be a mere prepositional phrase. It can be noted here that the preposition *ēçel*, "beside," receives a word accent. Here an approach is made to the style of Arabic rhymed prose, or parallelistic prose.

NEAR-PROSE
Synonymous Saj‘

This resemblance to parallel prose is maintained by 5.19, apparently an insert between the poetic verses 18 and 20, which deals with a description of events on the day of the Lord; the language is prosaic, and the conjunction *ka-’ᵃsher,* "just as," which usually interferes with the normality of the parallelism, is present.   As the verse stands it is plotted:

<pre>
x a   b   c   ‖   d   e
   a′2   f′2 g   ‖   d′   e′
</pre>

From the standpoint of rhythm, the verses have the same swing and virtually the same length.   Question has been directed against the member *ū-bhā’ hab-bayith,* "and he comes to the house."   The Greek has εἰσπηδήσῃ, which gives the picture of a man leaping over the threshold into a house.   Though it is possible that the verse wishes to convey the idea that in a crevice of a house where a man least expects it, he will be attacked, nevertheless the picture can be of a man fleeing across a field, placing his hand on a wall to vault it, and disturbing the natural habitation of a serpent, which bites him (cf. Eccl. 8.8).   On the basis of strict parallelism, the word *yānūs,* "flee," in the first part needs a complement in the third, in such a form as Oettli suggests, namely *ū-bhāraχ,* "he runs away."   It may be protested, however, that if the first terms are placed in exact parallelism, the others should be also; possibly, then, despite the resulting unusual triplet formation, three distichs were originally present:

As-if   there-did-flee   a-man   from-a-lion,
    And-there-met-him   a-bear,
And-he-entered   a-house

. . . .
Or-he-leaned   his-hand   on-the-wall,
    And-there-bit-him   a-serpent.

It seems better, however, to maintain the quatrain formation, despite the length of the third part (cf. 3.12 below):

As-if   there-did-flee   a-man   from-a-lion,
    And-there-met-him   a-bear,
Or-he-entered   a-house,   and   leaned   his-hand   on-the-wall,
    And-there-bit-him   a-serpent.

In 3.12, the same phenomenon of an approximation to near-
prose is present. The language is prosaic; the prepositional-
conjunction *ka-'ᵃsher* heads the combination, while the conjunc-
tion *kēn,* "thus," or "so," heads the third part, unlike 5.19. The
thought is divided clearly into two halves, the first dealing with
the escape from the lion, the second dealing with the application
of the figure to the escape of the Israelites. Though the lines
are excessively long, the metrical length and rhythm are vir-
tually the same. Synonymity is maintained throughout, except
that·in the third part of the quatrain, the phrase *mip-pī ha-'ᵃrī,*
"from the mouth of a lion," is balanced by *hay-yōshᵉbhīm
bᵉ-Shōmᵉrōn,* "those who dwell in Samaria." Oort and Bau-
mann regard the disturbing phrase as a later insertion and omit
it; Loehr also omits it as a gloss. Instead of it, the suggestion
has been made to read: *mip-pᵉnē hā-'ōyēbh,* "from-before the
enemy," to parallel "from before a lion" (Harper, p. 81). The
present scheme is:

$$\begin{array}{cccccc} \text{x a} & \text{b} & \text{c} & \| & \text{d} & \text{e} \\ & & & & \text{d}' & \text{e}' \\ \text{x}'\text{a}' & \text{b}' & \text{b}''2 & \| & \text{d}'' & \text{e}'' \\ & & & & \text{d}'''\, & \text{e}'''\, \end{array}$$

It can be seen from this schematization that alternate parallelism
with a type of reduplication exists here. The emendation sug-
gested would eliminate the disturbance in the sense, and improve
the rhythmical quality of the text. The scheme thus becomes:

$$\begin{array}{cccccc} \text{x a} & \text{b} & \text{c} & \| & \text{d} & \text{e} \\ & & & & \text{d}' & \text{e}' \\ \text{x}'\text{a}' & \text{b}' & \text{c}' & \| & \text{d}'' & \text{e}'' \\ & & & & \text{d}'''\, & \text{e}'''\, \end{array}$$

As there-rescues the-shepherd from-the-mouth-of the-lion
    Two-legs or a-piece-of-ear,
So shall-escape the-children of Israel from-before-the enemy,
    With-the-corner-of a-couch, and-with-the-leg-of a-bed.

In view of the character of the passage, it may be asked: Is this
comparable to the parallelistic prose of the Arabic rhymed
prose? The short, terse, three term character of the usual
couplet is missing; is it that the alternate parallelism is a door
to a special type of prose parallelism? It is to be noted also
that the subordinate parts are not complete in themselves, after

the manner of 5.19, but are detached portions similar to 2.8
(cf. 7.10b).

Near-prose appears to be present again in 7.10b. This
distich is part of a narrative which seems to be in prose, but
which, it will be seen on closer examination, turns out to be
mostly parallelistic poetry with the addition of several prose
phrases.

Amos	has-conspired	against-thee		in-the-midst-of	the-house-of-Israel,
Not-able	is-the-land			to-bear	all-his-words.
	a	b	c ‖	d	e2
	f	g	h ‖	i2	

Rhythmically these stichoi though extra long in character seem
equal. No synonymity exists between the two except in the
general concept of conspiracy; no terms are correspondential
with the possible exception of "the-land" and "house-of-Israel."
It seems possible that alternate parallelistic schematization may
be employed for the distich, similar to the usage in 2.8; thus:

> Amos has-conspired against-thee,
>   In-the-midst-of the-house-of Israel,
> Not-able is-the-land
> To-bear all-his-words.

But this differs radically from the usual alternate and *qīnā*
measure, and cannot be advocated with any degree of security.
The distich has been regarded by Loehr and others as bald
prose. Certainly neither complementary nor appositional par-
allelism is present here; i.e., where a single member of one
stichos is explained by a whole line in apposition to it, as in the
'asher and *hā-'ōmᵉrīm* clauses (see below); if this is to be re-
garded as parallelism, then every symmetrical statement of act
and result is parallelism. It seems feasible therefore to desig-
nate this distich as rhythmical non-parallelism, near-prose, and
similar in many respects to the Arabic unrhymed *saj'*.

From an examination of these forms of alternate parallelism
which approach closer and closer to near-prose, it is well to turn
to the *qīnā*-strophe, which adheres to the form of alternate par-

allelism though with a different spirit and purpose.   The true
qīnā is genuine poetry, and does not fall victim to the danger
of becoming near-prose, or even prose, as its prototype, alternate
parallelism, becomes at times.   One of the best examples of
qīnā in prophetic literature is found in Amos 5.2 and 3 (Gray,
p. 119) :

<pre>
Fallen   to-rise-no-more   is-the-daughter-of Israel,
Stretched-out   upon-the-ground   with-none   to-raise-her.

The-city   that-goeth-forth   a-thousand   shall-have-left a-hundred,
And-she-that-goeth-forth   a-hundred,   shall-have-left ten
                                            to-the-house-of   Israel.
</pre>

The phrase *le-bhēth Yisrā'ēl* gives difficulty; either it must be
introduced at the end of the introductory phrase beginning
verse 3, or better, it may be regarded as a repetition from the
introductory phrase beginning verse 4; or it may perhaps be
placed in verse 6 instead of *le-bhēth-'ēl*, which is clearly an error
(see Harper, p. 112).   The schematization of verses 2 and 3 is:

<pre>
        a   b2   ‖   c2
        a'2   ‖   b'2

        a   b   c   ‖   d   e
              b   c'   ‖   d   e'
</pre>

Two *qīnā* couplets thus occur here which in number of terms
have each apparently this form:

<pre>
        3 : 2
        2 : 2
</pre>

It is possible, however, that in the second line of the first couplet
'al-'adhmāthāh, "upon the ground," should be given two tones
instead of one, in which case that line, also, would have the
form 3:2.

<h2 style="text-align:center">SYNTHETIC COUPLETS</h2>

Up to this point, this study has devoted itself to a consider-
ation of couplets in clear parallelism; in all except three cases,
there has been no question of the poetical character of the
couplets, nor has the synonymity of the parallelism been sharply
affected.   It is necessary now to pass to a discussion of so-called
"synthetic couplets" wherein neither synonymity nor parallel-

ism is so close, and where the twilight zone between prose and
poetry is most evident.   It has been observed here that par-
allelism is not an infallible test of poetry, for in the three
examples of prosaic alternate parallelism, the synonymity has
been close, though language and form has pointed more towards
the designation of prose than poetry (Gray, p. 40).

CLEAR SYNTHETIC

The Book of Amos contains several couplets wherein the
synonymity between the terms is not maintained, but where the
second stichos contains a continuation of the thought wherein
perhaps one term corresponds to another in the first stichos;
the second stichos usually contains a statement of a phase of
the same idea as the first, but it adds a new detail.   These may
be called "clear synthetic" couplets.

```
For-lo,   he-forms   the-mountains,   and-creates   the-wind,
And-declares   unto-man   what-is-his-thought;

He-makes   dawn   darkness,
And-treads   upon-the-heights-of   the-earth.                4.13
              x a       b       a′      b′
               d       e       f

               g       h       i
               j       k2
```

Or the second couplet may be represented thus:

```
               a       b       c
               d       e2
```

These two couplets are part of a doxology, and are knit together
by the participial construction at the head of each stichos; the
central idea throughout is praise of God, but each stichos con-
tains a new statement of his deeds.   The first stichos contains
an internal reduplication, a b a′ b′.   But correspondence
of a character similar to other parallelism is missing.

```
Because   ye-trample   on-the-weak,
And-exactions-of-grain   ye-take   from-him.                 5.11
```

The central idea of this couplet is oppression of the poor,
though synonymity is missing; the schematization is:

```
               x a       b
               c d       b′
```

It must be observed that the conjunction *ya'an*, "because," receives a full word accent. The prepositional phrase in the second stichos *mimmennū*, "from him," seems to correspond to "on-the-weak."

> Therefore-now they-shall-go-into-exile at-the-head-of the-captives,
> And-shall-pass-away the-shout-of the-banqueters. 6.7
>   x a   b2
>   d e   f

The introductory conjunction receives a word accent though it gives to the first stichos four tones, and to the second three. Again as in 5.11, the uniting thought of the two stichoi is the same, but the second adds a new picture to the plan.

> He-that-calls for-the-waters-of the-sea,
> And-pours-them-out upon-the-face-of the-earth. 5.8c, 9.6b
>   a   b   c
>   d   e   c'

Synonymity is present here in the terms "sea" and "earth," perhaps; each stichos is a syntactically complete line in itself; the number of terms in each is the same; and a rhythmical principle seems present; the couplet diverges, however, from the normal type of synonymous parallelism, in so far as the second stichos in thought is a continuation, not a repetition of the first, almost as one prose line is a continuation of another —unless, indeed, a species of "complementary" parallelism be recognized, in that each line expresses merely another phase of the thought, "God controls the waters."

> Shall-not-for-this tremble the-land,
> And-shall-mourn all-the-inhabitants therein. 8.8a
>   a   b   c
>   d   e   c'

Or

>   a   b   c
>   b'   d   c'

> He-that-touches the-earth, and-it-melts,
> And-there-mourn all-the-inhabitants therein. 9.5a
>   a   b   c
>   d   e   b'

Or

>   a   b   c
>   c'   d   b'

In each of these couplets, the second stichos contains the
preposition "therein," which is synonymous with "the-earth."
There is more synonymity in the first than in the second
couplet; although the latter contains in its first stichos two
verbs the second of which, "melts," may be complementary
to the verb in the second stichos, the first verb, "touches,"
has no complement.   The spirit and language and environment
of these two couplets show that they are clearly poetry; the
exact correspondential character of normal parallelism is how-
ever absent.

<div style="text-align:center">

Alas-for   those-who-long-for   the-day-of-Yahwe,
Wherefore-is-this · to-you   the-day-of-Yahwe.   5.18
        a   b   c
        d   e   c′

</div>

Each stichos has an identical term *yōm 'adhōnāi;* the meaning of
the couplet is doubtful and a triplet formation complicates the
problem.

<div style="text-align:center">

And-mourn-shall   the-pastures-of   the-shepherds,
And-dry-up-shall   the-top-of   Carmel.   1.2b ·
    a   b   c
    a′   b′   c′

</div>

Or

<div style="text-align:center">

    a   b   c
    a′   b′2

</div>

Or

<div style="text-align:center">

    a   b   c
    a′   c   d

</div>

The metaphorical expression "the mourning of the pastures"
seems to signify their failure to produce crops, a synonym
therefore for the expression "the drying up" of the top of
Carmel.   There is here exact correspondence of terms, each
containing three members; hence the first schematization is
possible.   But if the expression "the top of Carmel" be not
regarded as synonymous to "the pastures of the shepherds,"
then either the second or third form is admissible.

In 8.12a and 9.4b occurs a special form wherein the second
stichos is a short negative, thus:

> They-shall-run-hither-and-thither   to-seek   the-word-of-Yahwè,
> But   they   shall   not   find   it.

> I-shall-place   my-eyes   upon-them   for-evil,
> And-not   for-good.

This is a frequent formation in prophetic writings; it is difficult to suggest its schematization, and it must be accepted as a special structure without regard to its symbols.   Cf. the usage of the term *wᵉ-ēn mᵉkabbê* in 5.6b.

<div align="center">DOUBTFUL SYNTHETIC</div>

A group of "doubtful synthetic" couplets is present in Amos which are so styled because no synonymity is present, yet a rhythmical principle seems to operate, while the text itself is unclear.   Among these couplets may be reckoned the following:

> Because-they-delivered-up   a   complete-captivity   to-Edom,
> And-have-not-remembered   the-covenant-of   brothers.   1.9b

> And-not   have-they-known   how-to-do-good,
> Those-who-store-up   violence   and-oppression   in-their-palaces.   3.10

> And-through-the-breaches   shall-they-go   each-woman   before-her,
> And-they-shall-be-cast   into-Harmon.   4.3

> Strike-the-threshold   that-the-posts   may-shake,
> And-cut-them   on-the-head   all-of-them.   9.1b

In each of these instances the text is corrupt; though the first two are somewhat clear, the second two are dubious in sense, in grammar, and in form.   Another instance where synonymity may be present but where the sense is doubtful is the following:

> Because   he-pursued   with-the-sword   his-brother,
> And-destroyed   his-compassion.   1.11b

For a full discussion of this distich see below on the Doom Song.

A corrupt text is possibly to be seen here:

> Who-crush   the-head-of   the-poor   on-the-dust-of   the-earth
> And-the-way-of   the-humble   they-turn-aside.   2.7a

By the omission of "on the dust of the earth" the form becomes (Harper, p. 50):

<div align="center">

a   b2
b′2   a′

</div>

or

<div align="center">

a   b   c
b′   c′   a′

</div>

Other instances of doubtful synthetic couplets are scattered throughout this study, and are found tabulated below.

"THAT-SAY," OR QUOTATIONAL COUPLETS

Amos contains several couplets wherein one stichos is lengthened by the use of the apparent equivalent in Hebrew for quotation marks, namely, a form of the word "say," which is found standing usually at the head of the stichos as a participle, sometimes in the middle as an infinitive. This creates a special class of parallelism, for it will be observed that the synonymity between the stichoi is not close, since the quotation usually adds a new thought to the complex.

> Hear-this-word,   ye-kine-of   Bashan,
> Who-are (dwell)   in-the-mountain-of-Samaria,
> That-oppress   the-poor,
> That-crush   the-needy,
> That-say unto-their-lords: Bring, that we-may-drink.   4.1

$$
\begin{array}{llll}
x\,y\,a & b & & \\
c & d2 & & \\
e & f & & \\
e' & f' & & \\
g & h & i & j
\end{array}
$$

There are indications of symmetry here, though the verse approaches closely to prose; a relative *'asher* in the second stichos complicates the verse; moreover it is doubtful whether the opening prophetic phrase "Hear this word" deserves to be included in the scheme as major words, receiving tonal accents. Parallelism exists here between the terms e f and e' f'. The participial construction which Amos employs in the last three stichoi is a favorite with him (first stichos: 2.7; 5.7, 8, 9, 12, 18; 6.1, 3, 4, 5, 6; 8.14; second stichos, 3.10, 12; 5.3); here it knits the terms together throughout the entire verse. Another schematic arrangement for this verse whereby two couplets are produced which are rhythmically but not correspondentially symmetrical, would be:

$$
\begin{array}{llll}
x\,y\,a & b & & \\
c & d & e & \\
 & & & \\
f & g & f' & g' \\
h & i & j & k
\end{array}
$$

> Who-rejoice   in-that-which-is-not,
> Who-say: By-our-own   strength   have-we-not-taken   for-ourselves
>   horns?   6.13

In addition to the fact that *hā'-ōmᵉrīm*, "that say," serves to
lengthen the stichos, there is no correspondence between the
terms, though the thought is in general the same in both stichoi.
The scheme runs:

> a   b2
> c   d   e   f

> By-the-sword   shall-die   all-the-sinners-of   my-people,
> Who-say:Not-shall-touch   or-befall   us   disaster.   9.10

Doubt on the validity of this text exists because of the length
of the second stichos and the presence of two verbs therein
denoting the same thought.   No correspondence of terms exists,
the second stichos adding to the first a characterization, from
their own lips, of those who will die.   The schematic arrange-
ment is:

> a   b   c   d
> f   g2   h   i

> But-ye-made-drink   the-Nazirites   wine,
> And-the-prophets   ye-commanded   (saying):Do-not-prophesy.   2.12
> a   b   c
> b'   d   e   f

Or

> a   b   c
> b'   d   (x) e

In the light of verse 11, which deals with the same thought in
an inversed couplet, it is clear that parallelism is intended here.
Doubt attaches, however, to the text, and Harper (p. 54) sug-
gests that the words *lē'mōr 'al-tinnābhᵉ'ū* could be omitted as
a gloss, thus restoring the line to a length commensurate with
the first stichos.   In the face of other examples where the *lē'mōr*
construction is used, this seems plausible.   Harper's arrange-
ment becomes:

> a   b   c
> b'   a'
> But-ye-made-drink   the-Nazirites   wine,
> And-on-the-prophets   ye-laid-prohibition.

It may be concluded with reference to the ''who-say'' clauses: either the term receives a full word accent as in 4.1, where *hā'-ōm^erōth* is used with a modifying noun *la-'^adhōnēhem*, though this latter term may not be genuine; or the phrase ''who-say'' in its various forms should not be reckoned as a major word in the schematization, worthy of a full tone, but more like the quotation marks in English.   The majority of cases seem to favor the second hypothesis, though each case must be judged on its own merit.

''IN ORDER THAT,'' OR CONJUNCTIVAL COUPLETS

A series of conjunctival clauses which are introduced either by the conjunction *l^e-ma'an* or the relative *'^asher* affect the parallelism, which by the absence of correspondence is almost eliminated.   The *l^e-ma'an,* ''in order that,'' clauses contain in the second stichos, at the head of which the conjunction usually stands, a new thought which is the result or the purpose of the event or act mentioned in the first.

> Because   they-ripped-up   the-pregnant-women-of   Gilead,
> In-order-to   enlarge   their-border.   1.13b

No correspondence of the terms exists here; the text is dubious; there is a *non-sequitur* in the ideas of the couplet; in a plotting of the text, the conjunction *l^e-ma'an* receives a full word accent.

> And-a-man   and-his-father   go   unto-the-same-maid,
> In-order-to   profane   my-holy   name.   2.7b

Again the text is dubious; the lines are longer than usual; Harper emends to read: ''And-a-man   and-his-judge   deal according-to-agreement.''   The length of the couplet is seen in the scheme:

> a2   b   c
> d   e   f2
> Seek-good   and-not-evil,
> In-order-that   ye-may-live.   5.14a

The sense is clear, but the schematic arrangement is dubious. This line is followed by an apparently long prose line, wherein the word *ka-'^asher* occurs.   Either it is possible to regard this verse as a brief distich, a text for the discussion that follows; or the line may be grouped with the next long prophetic line,

making thus two long lines; or as Harper suggests, they may
form a quatrain similar to alternate parallelism:

> Seek-good   and-not-evil,
>   In-order-that   ye-may-live,
> That-so-may-be   Yahwe-God-of-Hosts   with-you,
>   As-ye-have   said.

But this is doubtful, and must be accepted with reservation,
although it must be noted that this quatrain is followed by
another (verse 15) of similar formation.

> In-order-that   they-may-possess   the-remnant-of   Edom,
> And-all-the-nations   over-which   is-called   my-name.   9.12

Here l^e-*ma'an* occurs at the head of the entire couplet in the
first stichos; moreover the presence of *'asher* in the second
stichos complicates the form.   The lines are long, and approach
close to near-prose; unless it occurred in the midst of genuine
parallelism, it would be classified without hesitation as prose.
The text is doubtful, and seems to be part of a post-Amosian
insertion.   The schematic arrangement is difficult; slight corre-
spondence may be present between the words ''Edom'' and
''nations'':

> a   b   c   d
> d'   e   f   g

It may be concluded with reference to the l^e-*ma'an* clauses
that the use of the conjunction is accompanied by a breakdown
of synonymous parallelism; correspondence between terms is
missing; the lines are usually extra long, and approximate
closely near-prose.   Moreover the text is usually doubtful.

RELATIVE COUPLETS

The *'asher*-relative clauses may be divided into several cate-
gories.   The first usage is in couplets where the relative does
not affect the regularity of the parallelism, as in 2.9; another
usage is in a mixture of prose and parallelism, as in 4.1, where
the relative may affect the parallelism, and yet, depending upon
the construction of the passage, may fall in with the parallelistic
arrangement.   It may be used merely as a relative in sheer
prose, as in 1.1, the superscription; but its main usage is in

couplets where there are traces of parallelism disturbed how-
ever by the use of the relative.

```
And-there-led-them-astray    their-lies,
After-which   there-walked   their-fathers.                      2.4
```

The text here is dubious; no correspondence of terms is present;
grammar and sense are confused.   This couplet makes possible
however a differentiation between essential and non-essential
relative clauses.   The presence of the suffix "their" attached
to "lies" shows that the relative clause here is non-essential.
An essential modifier, i.e. one which cannot be logically omitted,
cannot be a parallel logically; a non-essential is somewhat of the
nature of a synonym, and hence may be regarded as a parallel.
The same may be said in some measure of the $h\bar{a}$-'$\bar{o}m^er\bar{\imath}m$ clauses
already discussed; in the same way that the second stichos was
an additional characterization, not imperative to complete the
meaning of the first stichos, but employed to fill out the couplet
structure, so the relative is used here and on occasion elsewhere.

```
One   piece   was-rained-upon,
And-the-piece   whereon   it-rained-not   withered.              4.7
```

The relative occurs in the middle of the second stichos, and
though it lengthens it, is not responsible for the uncertain
character of the couplet, for the style is tame; this stanza of
the Grief Song has a superabundance of stichoi; this distich is
surrounded by another in weak parallelism, verging on bald
repetition; and by a long and dubious prose line.

   In 5.26, the relative is used in a conventional phrase, "which
ye made for yourselves"; it may be part of a triplet; the text
also is doubtful; a similar use of '^{a}sher has been noted in 9.12;
again in 9.15, the words "which I have given to them" are used
as a conventional phrase with reference to the "land"; the
words seem to be "tacked-on" as it were.   On several occasions
it is found that at the end of a chapter or of a prophetic book
similar conventional combinations are attached.   In 3.1, the
relative is used in a conventional, introductory prophetic phrase
with no parallelism, apparently no rhythmical principle; the
lines are long and the verse savors of the historical traditional
phrases used by the prophets at the head of their denunciations.

KA'ASHER OR SIMILE COUPLETS

The *ka-'ᵃsher* couplets also present varieties of usage. It has been seen that in 3.12 and 5.19, two couplets of similar structure, the *ka-'ᵃsher* stands at the head of the couplets and does not interfere with the parallelism; in 3.12 it is a correlative of *kēn*, "thus," in the second stichos, and in 5.19 likewise by implication. In 5.14, it is used in a conventional prophetic near-prose line, wherein no simile and hence no parallelism are present; the word *kēn* is used in conjunction with *ka-'ᵃsher* in this line also, but no simile is involved as in the other examples.

In 2.13, *ka-'ᵃsher* occurs in the second stichos of an extremely doubtful couplet. The text is apparently corrupt; various suggestions for its emendation have been made, among them one by Harper (p. 60), but the supposed metrical principle which he employs is unjustifiable and violates even the elements of parallelism preserved in the couplet. As it stands the verse by reasons of its imperfections approaches near-prose. The brevity of the Jewish Translation does not bring out the character of the Hebrew text which is long and overbalanced:

> Behold, I will make it creak under you,
> As a cart creaketh that is full of sheaves.

The first stichos of the couplet appears to be genuine; a compression of the second is necessary to give a genuine couplet.

In 9.9 an almost identical structure and difficulty are present; in fact, were the two passages combined, they would make a mutually supplementary picture, since both deal with images of threshing. As in the previous instance, the *ka-'ᵃsher* stands at the head of the second stichos, making it almost seem that the presence of this conjunction in the second half of a couplet is in danger of obscuring the parallelism and the text. In 9.9, however, unlike the other instance, the *ka-'ᵃsher* section may be formed into two stichoi:

> And-I-will-sift   among-all-the-nations   the-house-of   Israel,
>
> Just-as-one-shakes   with-a-sieve,
> But-not-shall-fall   one-kernel   to-the-ground.

Again a disturbance in parallelism is accompanied by the presence of the conjunction, and by a dubious sense.

A type of construction which plays a rôle in disturbed parallelism is found in Amos 4.11; it appears to be a long continuous prose line; the Jewish Translation obscures the inequality in the length of the two parts into which it divides the line, by translating:

> I-have-overthrown some-of-you,
> As-God overthrew Sodom and-Gomorrah,

which in the Hebrew is:

> *hāphakhtī bhākhem*
> *kᵉ-mahpēkath 'ᵉlōhīm eth-Sᵉdhom wᵉ-eth-ʿᵃmōrā.*

Here the word *bā-khem* is given a full word accent; Harper and others believe that something has fallen out of the text, and so indicate in their arrangements. This phrase concerning the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah gives difficulty throughout the prophetic books; it either creates a species of continuous, rhythmical parallelism, near-prose in character, or it breaks down apparently good parallelism. Only rarely does it form a part of good parallelism. It is found in prose in Deut. 29.22; it has no corresponding stichos but is attached to the end of a couplet in Is. 13.19; in Jer. 49.18 it stands at the head of a verse the end of which is a good synonymous couplet; so also in Jer. 50.40. On several occasions the words ''Sodom'' and ''Gomorrah'' are used as corresponding terms in parallel couplets (cf. Zeph. 2.9; Is. 1.9; Jer. 23.14). The phrase of comparison in Amos is not used in the customary style of parallelism, though it might be grouped with the *ka-'ᵃsher* type, i.e., with simile parallelism; or, if the text were simply ''as the overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah,'' it would be similar to the phrase ''in the manner of Egypt'' in verse 10 (see below, on Grief Song). But as it stands it has the sound of a conventional phrase, inserted without regard to the awkwardness of the resulting context: ''1 [God] have overthrown some of you as God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah.'' Indeed, in general it may be concluded that the Sodom-Gomorrah phrase is conventional-traditional and historical, and stands outside the couplet parallelism, though exceptions of course exist.

Triplets and Monostichs

Important in a determination of the dubious cases of parallelism in Amos, is a consideration of the monostichs and tristichs; this will make possible a decision on the question whether isolated stichoi and triplet formations are intentional or accidental, or are the result of broken and marred texts.

The various single stichoi fall within several categories. The first includes those which betray remnants of parallelism and which may have been part of a parallelistic couplet, e.g. 1.3b, 6b, both of which are treated below in the Doom Song, 2.1b, and 1.5, where the first and fourth periods show that a couplet between them has been omitted and the gap filled by the substitution of a good couplet taken from 1.8 (see below).

The stichos 5.27 falls within a class of lines which occur at the end of a chapter and have no complementary stichos. It may be suggested that this near-prose line may serve as a rhythmical counterpart to the conventional prophetical phrase and epithet at the end of the verse, but this violates the usual principle that the introductory and closing phrases stand outside the parallelism.

A third class of single lines may be found in the so-called "texts" to the various sermons of Amos. 4.12c appears to belong to this species, though it occurs with two conventional prophetic phrases, and is followed by a doxology which appears to be an inset in the text. In 5.4, the text or heading may possibly be placed in parallelism with the next stichos:

> Seek-me and-live,
> But-do-not-seek Bethel.

In support of this, the next verse, 6a, appears to have a text: "Seek the Lord and live"; but it will be seen in a discussion of the triplet in verse 5 that this arrangement is not good.

This leads to the fourth class of single lines, those which are attached to couplets, or are a part of triplets, and hence must be treated with reference to triplets. It has already been observed in the discussion on 3.3, that whereas verses 4, 5, 6, and 8 have two stichoi in alternate parallelism, verse 3 has but

one; hence it may be stated that either another stichos has dropped out, or the present stichos must be taken as the head of the series and the keynote. Compare discussion on 9.4–4, 14.

An example of a text that is clear but perhaps misplaced (Harper, p. 78, places it after verse 11) is found in 3.15. Here one line occurs followed by two short and parallel lines. The scheme is:

$$
\begin{array}{cccccc}
a & b & c & b' & d \\
e & b'' & f \\
e' & b''\,' & g
\end{array}
$$

And-I-will-smite   the-house-of   winter   with-the-house-of   summer,
And-shall-perish   the-houses-of   ivory,
And-shall-be-destroyed   houses   many.

This is a distinct type of strophe, and when the phenomenon is repeated in stanzaic form, complete symmetry results. It may be observed that the parallelism between the two short lines is quite exact, and the parallelism between either one of these and the longer first line is also good; the doubt arises through the presence of two stichoi parallel to the first.

In 3.11, despite the need for a slight textual change in the first line, an apparently good triplet is present, though the synonymity between the terms of the first, and those of the second and third lines is not close. In 5.8 the first stichos stands somewhat alone, and seems to need a complement, though the use of the participle, as well as a thought similarity, binds it to the couplet. In Job 9.9 and 38.31, the same terms are used and couplets are present; this stichos may be a later insertion in Amos on the basis of the Job passages. It is dangerous to make good parallelism dependent only on the presence of a couplet and to be overscrupulous in ascribing it to a triplet; however, it is well as here to examine every triplet on its own merits.

Trouble arises with reference to 5.16, 17. Verse 17 has a stichos in virtually the same form and language as the first stichos in the couplet at the head of verse 16. The repetition of the word *mispēdh,* and the fact that the dominant structure here seems to be the couplet, make it possible either that something has dropped out in verse 17 which would serve as a com-

plement to the doubtful stichos, or that it is a later insertion.
The triplet formation thus appears to be doubtful.   The same
question attaches to the third stichos in 5.18.   Harper wishes
to regard the striking second stichos to the first couplet as an
interpolation, and make the first and third stichoi the genuine
couplet, but Loehr and others would omit the third as an inser-
tion, basing their action on the ground that it is derived from
5.20a.   In favor of the present triplet arrangement it may be
said that Amos uses the third stichos as a climax to the imme-
diately preceding remarks; or the stichos may be divided into
two parallel parts:

> It-is   darkness
> And-not   light.

This is doubtful because of the extreme brevity of the periods,
and the frequent use of a line in the scheme a b   b'.   Whatever
decision be championed with reference to the text, it is certain
that the triplet cannot pass by entirely unquestioned.

Doubt is present once more in 5.22.   Harper wrongly regards
the second stichos of the couplet as an interpolation; it is far
more plausible to regard merely *ū-min*e*χōthēkhem*, "and your
meat-offerings," as a gloss explaining (see Brown-Driver-Briggs,
p. 585) the striking phrase in 5.21, second stichos: *we-lō' 'ārī*a*χ*,
"and I will not smell in your solemn assemblies."

Doubt again follows the triplet in 6.6.   The first two stichoi
form an admirable synonymous couplet.   Other investigators
have made various suggestions as to the replacement of the
third stichos, which seems to be in good prophetic language,
contains three terms, but has no complement.   Whatever may
be its correct position, it appears certain that the triplet forma-
tion here is not original.   In 6.8, the first two stichoi form a
good parallelistic couplet, but the stichos "and I will shut up
the city and its inhabitants," seems to be an isolated stichos,
the remnant of a couplet, or inserted by a later commentator
because the verb is in the same person as the verbs of the
couplet, and the noun corresponds to "palaces" in the second
stichos of the couplet.   Doubt further attaches to the validity
of the stichos because immediately following it is a long prose

portion clearly out of place in the text. If another stichos be demanded to form a couplet, perhaps 5.27 might serve. (Cf. 1.6, 10.)

Neither 7.9 nor 7.17 is free from question. Each has an isolated stichos at the end of the verse; moreover in 7.11 Amos is quoted as saying:

By-the-sword   shall-die   Jeroboam,
And-Israel   shall-surely   go-into-exile   from-its-land.

If the two isolated stichoi in 7.9 and 17 are brought together, this couplet ensues, as the prophecy which Amos is said here to attribute to God:

And-I-shall-rise   against-the-house-of   Jeroboam   with-the-sword,
And-Israel   shall-surely   go-into-exile   from-its-land.

As the text now stands only one-half of Amos' prophecy in verse 11 is vindicated; this arrangement provides for both parts, and disposes of the isolated stichoi. This is another of many instances where supposed triplets in reality are couplets plus a stichos out of place.

In 8.6 a third line follows a good synonymous couplet with which it appears to have no grammatical or logical connection. Either this stichos may be rejected, or it may be taken up into the second stichos of the first couplet in verse 5. This latter possibility is negated, however, by the fact that *nashbīr* is already used there; the words in verse 6 may therefore be a variant reading.

In 9.1 a possible triplet is obscured by the apparent corruption of the text; the isolated stichos "and-their-residue with-the-sword will-I-slay" is in Amos' style and seems to deserve a place in the text as a survival of a good couplet.

In 5.5 a couplet with a reference to Bethel and to Gilgal is followed by a stichos containing mention of Beersheba. A couplet succeeds this group wherein Gilgal and Bethel are mentioned, though a play upon Beersheba is conspicuous by its absence. The suggestion that the first stichos of the first couplet as stated above be taken with the "text" in verse 4 is indefensible because of the combination of stichoi in the second couplet of verse 5. Either Baumann's suggestion that the

Beersheba stichos be omitted must be accepted on the ground
that in 4.4 only Gilgal and Bethel are mentioned, while 8.14
refers to Dan and Beersheba without the other two; or it is
necessary to add a stichos to 5b, punning upon the name of
Beersheba.   It is easier and more plausible to omit the trouble-
some stichos as an interpolation.

In 6.1–2 similar difficulties are encountered.   A good couplet
heads verse 1; a doubtful distich follows; in verse 2, three
stichoi apparently in triplet formation are present; then follows
a final couplet in verse 2, which must be regarded as part of this
strophe.   Various ways of reading these verses may be sug-
gested.   Harper (p. 141 ff.) regards the second distich of
verse 1 as a good couplet and the three stichoi of verse 2 as a
good triplet, but he omits the second couplet in verse 2; his
rendering of the second couplet in verse 1 is:

> Who specify themselves the chief of the nations,
> And make a prey for themselves of the house of Israel.

The Jewish Translation offers for this couplet the following
conventional and traditional rendition which clings to the pres-
ent text but solves none of its difficulties:

> The notable men of the first of the nations,
> To whom the house of Israel come.

The schematization of the couplet together with the following
triplet becomes then:

$$
\begin{array}{ccc}
a & b & c \\
d & e & f \\
\\
a & b & a \\
a' & b'2 \\
a'' & b''2 \\
\end{array}
$$

The following suggestions may now be offered.   Either the
whole of the first stichos, $n^e q \bar{u} bh \bar{e}\ r \bar{e} sh \bar{\imath} th\ hag\text{-}g \bar{o} yim$, should be
omitted; this would place the next stichos at the head of a
quatrain, changing $\bar{u}\text{-}bh \bar{a}' \bar{u}$ into $b \bar{o}' \bar{u}$, an imperative; or the
combination of consonants from $n^e q \bar{u} bh \bar{e}$ and the next word
$r \bar{e} sh \bar{\imath} th$, $q\text{-}b\text{-}r$, suggests the possibility of the word $q \bar{\imath} r^e bh \bar{u}$,
"draw near," to be parallel to $b \bar{o}' \bar{u}$.   For the theme of the
couplet and of the text down to verse 3 appears to be: Let Israel

approach the neighbouring countries and compare their lands, the first of the nations, with those of Israel. God's question then at the end of verse 2 in the couplet seems entirely justifiable; the words *hag-gōyīm* in verse 1 seem to anticipate the nations mentioned in verse 2. The schematization first suggested in this paragraph then becomes:

$$
\begin{array}{lll}
a & b & c \\
a' & d & a'' \\
a'' ' & d'2 & \\
a'' '' & d''2 &
\end{array}
$$

The second suggestion calls for the schematization:

$$
\begin{array}{lll}
a & b & c \\
a' & d & e \\
& & \\
a'' & f & a'' ' \\
a'' '' & f'2 & \\
a'' '' ' & f''2 &
\end{array}
$$

the couplet being:

> Approach the-first-of the-nations,
> And-come-to-them, oh-House-of Israel.

A final suggestion is that in the second couplet of verse 1 a stichos has fallen out parallel to the first stichos, and that the second stichos should go with the triplet in verse 2, to form a quatrain, thus:

> . . . . . . the first of the nations,
> . . . .
> Come to-them, oh-House-of Israel,
> Pass-over to-Calneh and-see,
> And-go thence to-Hamath-Rabbah,
> And-go-down to-Gath-of-the-Philistines.

The schematization thus becomes:

$$
\begin{array}{lll}
a & b & c \\
\cdot & \cdot & \cdot \\
a & b & c \\
a' & d & a'' \\
a'' ' & d'2 & \\
a'' '' & d''2 &
\end{array}
$$

There are a few special triplet formations in Amos where the usual periodic character of each stichos is missing, and where each unit is a part of a larger whole.

> Assemble   on-the-mountain-of   Samaria,
> And-behold   the-many   tumults   therein,
> And-the-oppressions   in-her-midst.   3.9b

Harper suggests that the third period be omitted as a gloss
not only because it affects the ''measure of the line'' but is
not clear grammatically and does not correspond well with
''tumults.''   But this suggestion violates an almost infallible
law that where a couplet or triplet shows good parallelism, it
should not be broken up.   It may be that either *'ashūqīm* or
meḥūmōth needs emendation.   There is a curious repetition of
''palaces'' in 9a, however; moreover, the preposition *'al* is used
in two different senses; in the first couplet *hash-mī'ū 'al* means
''to summon to'' or ''against'' (cf. Jer. 51.27); in the triplet,
hē'āsephū 'al means ''to assemble on top of.''   Thus the fault
seems to lie in the first couplet in verse 9.   The schematic
arrangement is either:

>   a   b2
>   a'   c2   d
>   c'   d'

or

>   a   b2
>   a'   c2   d

Another dubious example is found in 5.26:

> But-now-ye-lift-up   the-shrine-of   your-king
> And-the-image-of   your-images,
> The-star-of   your-God   which-ye-have-made   for-yourselves.

The Jewish Translation substitutes ''Siccuth'' for ''shrine''
and ''Chiun'' for ''image,'' taking the Hebrew as proper
names.   The conventional *'asher 'asīthem lākhem,* ''which ye
made for yourselves,'' mars the text, even though various
phrases here be omitted in order to make two lines of fairly
equal length; thus, Harper suggests:

> But-now-ye-lift-up   the-shrine-of   your-king,
> And-the-image-of   your-God   which-ye-have-made   for-yourselves.

Whatever be the determination and exact rendition of this
passage, it is evident once more that the supposed triplet cannot
pass unchallenged.

In 9.7 an apparently near-prose quatrastich or tristich is
present, after the interfering *ne'ūm 'adhōnāi* is omitted:

Are-not   like-the-Cushites   ye   to-me,   oh-Sons-of-Israel,
Did-not-Israel   I-bring-up   from-the-land-of   Egypt,
And-the-Philistines   from-Caphtor,
And-Edom   from-Kir.

The first two lines are allied perhaps by the affinity of thought, and externally by the use of the same introductory interrogative $h^{a}l\bar{o}'$, "not," and the use of the term $Yisr\bar{a}'\bar{e}l$ in both stichoi. It may be asked whether the two end periods should not be combined into one stichos, thus giving a triplet instead of one long rhythmically parallel couplet and one semi-independent couplet in close parallelism. One notes that this long near-prose passage deals with traditional historic material. The schematic arrangement can be either

```
a       b       c       d       e
a'      e'      f       g2
        e''     g'
        e'' ' g''
```

or

```
a       b       c       d       e
a'      e'      fg2
e''g'   e'' '       g''
```

It may be concluded with reference to triplets, therefore, that the bona fide triplet combination in Amos is rare; frequently the text of the supposed triplet is corrupt or dubious; unless the tristich shows perfection of form and sense, it is necessary to investigate carefully before it is pronounced genuine. Each triplet must be weighed on its own merits, and none should be accepted without analysis merely because it is known that triplets do exist elsewhere in prophetical literature.

Conventional Historical Prophetic Phrases

The prophets employ certain typical prophetic phrases which may have been part of the stock in trade of the schools and even of the independent prophets. Most of these lines are single stichoi; they have a traditional flavor and hark back oftentimes to the historical events deeply rooted in the past of the people. Some of them are mere ejaculations, inserted apparently without rule or reason; sometimes however they serve as a climax, sometimes as emphasis for a special point.

2.11b is an ejaculation, apparently out of place in its present location between two couplets which reflect phases of the same thought; 4.5b is also an ejaculation which may serve to end a series of couplets; it stands outside the parallelism as an isolated stichos.   5.14b and 15b are long and prosaic; they may be regarded either as isolated stichoi, may be combined to form a distich, or may be part of a stanzaic arrangement.   5.17 falls somewhat outside this category, for it has not a traditional flavor; it seems to be an isolated stichos, the remnant of a refrain, or the end to a series of couplets; it may be taken with the preceding single stichos to form a distich, but no synonymity exists, and the combination is doubtful.

5.25 is a long prosaic verse referring to the sacrifice of offerings in the desert period; it is clearly not parallelism, and seems to have little place in the text, unless it have some bearing on verse 26, which is also doubtful.   Why the prophet should suddenly insert this line is unclear; why also he should desert the parallelistic form he has maintained immediately previous over five verses, is a mystery.   It serves again to show the disjointed nature of the Amos text, and to confirm the supposition that only a few scattered sections of the original utterances of Amos have been preserved and pieced together in their extant form.

9.8b affords another instance of the manner in which verses may be inserted.   It is almost certain that the line ''Save that I will not destroy utterly the house of Jacob, it is the oracle of Yahwe'' is a later interpolation; it is in entire dissonance with the preceding material, and has the tone of a later period.   The same applies to 9.14a, ''And I will bring back the captivity of my people Israel.''   This seems to be part of the patchwork text interpolated by a post-Exilic editor.

Several of these conventional prophetic historical phrases occur not only as single isolated stichoi, but also as couplets, or triplets.   2.10 is an example of a single line followed in verse 11 by a couplet in good parallelism, while verse 10 itself, historic in character, appears to be prosaic in style.   The line divides itself into two parts; the words ''to possess the land of the Amorites'' attached at the end may either be omitted,

remain as they are, or be preceded by *wā-'aḇhīkhem hēnnā,* "and I brought you hither," giving the verse thereby a triplet formation (Harper, p. 54ff.).

> And-yet   it-was-I   who-brought-you   up-from-the-land-of-Egypt,
> And-led-you   in-the-wilderness   forty-years,
> (And-brought-you   hither)   to-possess   the-land-of   the-Amorite.

This verse seems quite clearly in the twilight zone between prose and poetry, resembling largely the rhymed prose of the Arabic.

The same phenomenon of long prosaic lines, yet with a slight trace of parallelism in the repetition of the word *'al* in each period, is noticeable in 3.1:

> Hear   this-word   which   the-Lord   hath-spoken   against-you,   oh-children-of-Israel,
> Against-the-whole-family   that   I-brought-out-of-the-land-of   Egypt.

Here again is a reference to God's withdrawal of the Israelites from the land of Egypt.

An approximation to the *saj'* is noted again in 3.2, where the periods are long and reference is made to historical data:

> Only-you   have-I-known   from-all-the-families   of-the-land,   ·
> Therefore   I-will-visit   upon-you   all-your-sins.

Here as in other conjunctival clauses, the second stichos contains the result of the fact mentioned in the first.   There is a clear cut division between the two periods, though the terseness of most of Amos' poetry is missing.   3.7, which has already been discussed, seems to contain a customary prophetic statement, used perhaps by the prophetic guilds and schools and not containing strict parallelism.

3.14a, discussed above, contains a couplet similar to 3.2, but the correspondence in terms is slightly closer.   9.8 contains two long stichoi marked by slight parallelism and yet not entirely correspondent.   This distich is in the realm of near-prose (as is also the third stichos which is clearly a later insertion; see above):

> Behold   the-eyes-of   the-Lord   are   upon-this-sinful-kingdom,
> And-I-will-destroy   it   from-off-the-face-of   the-earth.

The first stichos repeats from 9.4 a part of the line: "And I will place mine eyes upon them, for evil and not for good"; the schematic character of the distich is vague; moreover 9.4 does

not appear to be a parallelistic distich, nor is its periodic character apparent.

4.12 contains an apparently conventional prophetic phrase, complicated by the presence of conjunctions and doubtful in sense and position. The second stichos may be a gloss on the first; the line "Prepare to meet thy God, Oh Israel," may be a text or a climactic sentence, and may serve as an apodosis to the second stichos. 5.1 is a long prosaic introductory line, whereof the words "*qīnā*, Oh House of Israel" appear to make a short second line to the first long line, giving a species of *qīnā* construction; or this second part may be in correspondence to the phrase "this word which I take up against you." If any parallelism may be said to exist here, it is of a special and uncertain type. In 8.7 the first line is a conventional phrase of introduction, the second either a prophetic remark, complicated also by the presence of the conjunction *'im*, "if," or an isolated stichos taken from an original couplet. No synonymity exists between the two periods; it is doubtful whether they should be reckoned together as one distich.

It may therefore be concluded with reference to the list of conventional or customary prophetic phrases in Amos, that they stand outside the regular, normal parallelism; if they show any distich character, it is vague and dubious, and closely allied to near-prose; in a few instances a rhythmical principle may operate, but these are too few to afford insight into any general laws.

Prelude and Postlude Prophetic Phrases

The numerous introductory and closing phrases, formulas and epithets deserve consideration with a view to the question whether they stand outside the parallelism or require word accents in the schematization of the couplets. The words *way-yōmer*, *lēmōr*, *we-āmerū*, and others which stand at the head of the speeches do not appear to receive word accents, but stand outside the confines of the couplets themselves; this applies also to the longer phrases: "Thus saith the Lord" used at the head of the stanzas in the Doom Song, and with variations throughout the book. In two instances, *hashmi'ū* in 3.9 and *shime'ū zōth*

in 8.4, introductory words receive accents, though the first through the use of the preposition 'al belongs to another category. The closing words, ne'ūm 'adhōnāi, and longer phrases and epithets applicable to God, 'adōnai shemō, 'adōnai çebhā'ōth shemō, and others, also appear, to stand outside the parallelism. The phrases in the prose-poetic narrative in chapter 7 will receive special treatment below. On occasion as in 8.9 and 11, though even these two cases are doubtful, the phrases seem to fall into two parts, rhythmically equal.

It may be concluded then that in the great majority of cases, these phrases play almost the same part as quotation marks in English; they stand beyond the territory of parallelistic structure, i.e., they are not to be included as part of the distichs, and hence stand in a separate rhetorical category.

STROPHIC FORMATIONS

Amos contains several special strophic formations which demand separate treatment. These embrace the Doom Song in chapters 1 and 2, the Grief Song in 4.6–11, the first series of Visions in 7.1–6, the second series of Visions in 7.7–9 and 8.1–3, and the prose-poetic narrative in 7.10–17. The Doom Song will be the subject of special study below.

Grief Song

The Grief Song may be first considered. It may be decided that stanzas are present in the poem. There are five parts, each of which has as its opening verb a past first person singular, followed by a form of the pronoun "you" with a preposition. Each has the single line refrain: "But-ye-did-not return unto-me; it is the oracle of Yahwè." In the Doom Song it will be seen that the refrains and formulas are in couplet form, as in the prophetic songs in Is. 9.11, 16, 20; 10.4, 5, 25; Ezek., chapter 25, however, has the single line, "That ye may know that I am the Lord," without a parallelistic complement.

The number of lines in the five stanzas varies. Stanza 1 has the introductory period (not a full line), a parallelistic couplet, and the refrain: four lines; stanza 3 has the introductory period (a full line), a parallelistic couplet, and the refrain:

four lines; stanza 4 has the introductory period (a full line),
then three periods (two of which are full lines, the middle one
being a dubious phrase of three words) : four lines plus; stanza
5 has a long introductory period which is an over-full line, a
single complete line, and the refrain: apparently three lines
in all.   Stanza 2 is the most troublesome.   It contains an
introductory period of two lines, not in parallelism, but approx-
imating prose; a weak couplet wherein parallelism is evident;
another couplet wherein the second stichos has a disturbing
relative clause; a long prosaic line which cannot even be split
up into halves; finally the refrain: *in toto,* eight periods.   It
is at once evident that stanza 2 differs from the others in form
and character.   The question now arises, as it will with ref-
erence to the Doom Song and the other strophes : Is there a
model stanza for the entire five parts of the Grief Song, con-
sisting of the opening period, a couplet describing in detail
the effect of the general threat of punishment in the introduc-
tory line, finally the refrain, and the closing prophetic phrase :
four major periods plus the neutral closing phrase ?   This ques-
tion can be answered only by an examination of the information
each stanza affords :

Stanzas 1 and 3 conform to the model stanza, though as has
been noted, the introductory period of the first is not an inde-
pendent unit as in verse 9, but is completed in sense only by
the couplet which follows.   The adverb *we-gam* at the head of
stanzas 1 and 2 leads to the supposition that this may have been
the opening word in each stanza ; three, however, lack it.
Though the divergence in the introductory period is slight, it
is sufficient to show at once that however close the identity in
form between strophes, it is not absolute.

Stanza 4 bears this statement out still further.   The intro-
ductory period is, like that of stanza 3, a single line; the second
period is clear in sense; but the third period, *'im shebhī
sūsēkhem,* usually translated ''together with the captivity of
your horses,'' disturbs the parallelistic arrangement and is
evidently an afterthought.   It is regarded by many as an inter-
polation; if omitted the stanza has in its second section two

periods. But the fourth period of the existing stanza is apparently . corrupt. It is necessary to omit the copula *ū* before *bhe'appēkhem* in order to give clarity. Yet even with this emendation the second section, though composed of two stichoi, does not show the close synonymous parallelism of similar sections in stanzas 1 and 3. The first stichos contains three members, the second four; the omission of the word "and-in-your-nostrils" would give in the second three members, and would have the additional merit of a suffixal rhyme between *baχūrēkhem* and *maχᵃnēkhem*. Whatever be the decision on these points, merely to omit the marring third period in the present form would bring the stanza into structural consonance with the first and third.

Stanza 5 is not so easily disposed of. The introductory period has already been discussed (p. 177); it is sufficient to note here again that the long prosaic line may be split up into two parts, as Loehr, Baumann and others suggest; but the shortness of the resulting stichos, *hāphakhtī bākhem*, "I-overthrew among-you," would entail the insertion of another phrase, perhaps the word *'ārīm*, "cities,' in the form *'ārēkhem*, "your cities." This would place the line *ke-mahpēkhath 'elōhīm*, etc., as a second stichos, dependent upon the introductory period, and would not result in conformity to the structure of the single line introductory period in stanzas 1, 3, and 4. Moreover the second section, which in the other stanzas is a couplet, is here a monostich; there are no indications in Amos or other prophetic passages to show that a line has dropped out or that some portion could be restored as in the Doom Song to furnish the missing complementary stichos. Thus even if the first long period be split up and the number of periods thereby become four plus the closing phrase, as the model stanza seems to demand, yet internally the stanza departs from the necessary type. And if it be suggested that the first period remain as one, merely omitting the word *'elōhīm* as superfluous because God himself is supposed to speak the sentence, the number of periods becomes three plus the closing phrase, an even greater divergence from the model stanza. It is probable then that the stanza has not

been handed down in its original form, and that responsible in large measure for its doubtful character, is the presence of the conventional, historical, prophetic reference to Sodom and Gemorrah.

Stanza 2 possesses even greater difficulties, since it throws into still greater darkness the relation of prose to poetry in Amos. The whole stanza is tautological and defective. Loehr and others omit the entire passage, verses 7 and 8, as a later insertion. Harper is not so drastic and correctly makes the following observations: The words in the first section which follow the introductory period, namely, ''while yet there remained three months to the harvest'' may be a gloss based on a meteorological calculation. It may be said in addition that the extreme length of the Massoretic verse 7 is suspicious; for it may be asked: Does not a Massoretic verse usually contain four periods of poetry, or two couplets, and infrequently six periods or three couplets? The first couplet in verse 7 appears to be genuine, for though the second stichos is merely an inversion of the first, yet correspondence of terms is present. But the second couplet appears to be redundant because of the repetition of the numerals and the word for ''rain,'' and also because of the looseness and tameness of the style; the relative clause in the second stichos of this distich contributes to its weakness. Hence it deserves to be omitted (Harper, p. 96). Verse 8 is a long prosaic line, resembling 8.11–12, to the strophe of which it may belong; it may be divided into two portions, but solely on a rhythmical and not on a parallelistic basis; there is again repetition of the word ''city'' and in general prosaic garrulity entirely unworthy of the style of Amos. It seems justifiable to urge its omission; the stanza would then take on a form entirely in keeping with the model stanza, containing four periods plus the prophetic phrase:

I-also-it-was-who   withheld   from-you   the-rain,

And-I-sent-rain   upon-one-city,
While-upon-another-city   I-sent-not-rain.

But-ye-did-not   return   unto-me.

It-is-the-oracle-of   Yahwè.   4.7–8

This stanza is secured by the easy task of omission, but for this there seems justification on literary, syntactical, and other grounds.

The conclusions as to the Grief Song cannot be positively affirmed, but they seem to grow out of clear data. It appears evident that there was an original type stanza, consisting of four lines: the introductory period, the parallelistic couplet, describing the details of punishment; the refrain of grief; and finally outside the major portion of the stanza, the closing prophetic phrase. The first three stanzas show a parallelism of close synonymity; stanza 4 needs emendation before it gives a rhythmically parallelistic distich; stanza 5 departs widely from the model form, and is perhaps the most difficult of the entire set. Stanza 2, a *mélange* of prose and poetry, is soon narrowed down to the model form because of the apparent illegitimacy of the prose portions. One decision is indisputable: though a type stanza may obtain, no one of the existing stanzas conforms to it, even after emendation, in entirety; each has its own slight variations. Standard stanzas for individual poems may have been the rule with the prophets; but none the less, great leeway was permitted in the degree of exact conformance to the type. An examination of the other strophic arrangements in Amos will confirm these observations.

SERIES OF VISIONS

Amos 7.1–6 and 7–9, and 8.1–3 contain four visions each beginning with the words: "Thus hath-shown-me"; but from the internal material, it is clear that Amos 7.1–6 forms one pair of visions, and the other passages a second pair. The decision that interparallelism between the strophes exists was reached before reference was made to the work of any other investigators; the fact that virtually the same conclusions were secured independently is additional proof of their validity.

FIRST PAIR

In the first pair of visions as in the Doom and Grief Songs, a type stanza is expected. The likenesses between the two strophes are found in the opening prophetic phrase and in the

refrain; the former is identical in its two occurrences, the latter almost identical: $s^ela\chi$-$n\bar{a}'$, "repent-now," is paralleled by χ^adhal-$n\bar{a}'$, "cease-now"; in verses 3 and 6, the second stichoi of the last line of the refrain differ only by the addition of *gam*, "also," in the latter verse. The refrain itself shows no internal parallelism and it is doubtful whether it should be written as four lines, or as six periods. The parallelism is extensive, that is, it reaches beyond the confines of the strophe and becomes, through similarity to the same portion in the other strophe, interparallelism.

The real difficulty in this first pair of visions lies in the substance of the prophecies between the identical opening phrase and the similar refrains. In the first stanza, 7.1–2, the lines as they stand read:

> And behold he was forming locusts in the beginning of the coming
> up of the aftergrowth,
> And behold there were full grown locusts after the king's mowings,
> And it came to pass when they were making an end of devouring
> the herb of the land.

Except for the repetition of the word "behold" all parallelism seems to have disappeared; three long prosaic periods are here found, whereas in the same section in the second strophe, one good couplet at least is present, though another prose line beginning "and-behold" precedes it. The text in the first strophe is unclear; the Septuagint is confused and formless. The several suggestions for its reconstruction do not restore parallelism. If the text remain as it is, then it must be accepted that the prophet could throw in prose at will, and destroy thereby the regular character of his compositions; but if it be felt that the text in its present form is irretrievably corrupt, then the conclusion seems justifiable that absence of interparallelism is generally accompanied by a badly preserved text and an unclear meaning.

In the second strophe, the only flaw lies in the line: "And behold was-calling to-contend by-fire the Lord Yahwè," which precedes the good couplet. Should this line remain in its present form, or is it the remnant of a good couplet? In Is. 66.16 where virtually the same thought is expressed, parallelism of the most regular and beautiful kind is present:

It may be concluded then from this poem: (1) either it contains a mixture of prose in long lines and short, together with parallelism and interparallelism through the presence of good couplets and almost identical refrains; (2) or the two stanzas, barring minor changes, were identical in the number and character of their lines, and the present text containing lines dubious in sense and unclear in grammar has been tampered with, so that a reconstruction of the text should restore parallelism and interparallelism.

<div align="center">SECOND PAIR</div>

The second series of visions in 7.7–9 and 8.1–3 contains two stanzas alike in form and substance.   Between these two stanzas is a long narrative passage of seven verses, evidently inserted because it deals with the word "Jeroboam," mentioned in verse 9 (see below).   Though these strophes both begin with the words: "Thus hath-shown-me," the additional words *Yahwè 'elōhīm* are missing from the first; the second has, however, as subject *Yahwè*. The context of this series differs from that of the first pair of visions; perhaps they were written at different times and were compiled into their present position because of the similarity of their opening words as well as the similarity in the use of *we-hinnē*, "and behold."

The following points are to be noted: in stanza 1 of this series the period beginning *we-hinnē* is a line showing some parallelism, due to the repetition of the word *'anākh* in the phrase "and-in-his-hand a-plummet," though Harper would omit this as a gloss. Stanza 2 has in this section merely the phrase "and-behold a summer-basket."   The next variation between the two stanzas lies in the fact that stanza 1 has "and-said Yahwè unto-me," while stanza 2 has merely "and-said."   But in the next prophetic phrase, to which it must be admitted no great importance can be attached, stanza 2 has "and-said *Yahwè* unto-me," while stanza 1 has "And *'adhōnai* said."   There is no local or internal parallelism in the stanzas until the lines descriptive of the punishment are reached, but barring these slight variations, interparallelism between the stanzas is present before the regular couplets.

After a description of the facts of the vision, follows a single line playing upon the name of the object seen in the vision (cf. Jer. 1.11 ff., where there are two similar visions, the second one being extended to greater length than the first); this single line is accompanied by a second which contains a refrain: "I-will-not-continue again to-pass by-them" (cf. 5.17). There is no synonymity between these two lines looked at as a local unit in each stanza, though together they may be taken to form a rhythmical distich.

Stanza 1 contains in verse 9 a couplet in perfect synonymous parallelism; a third stichos follows, but as has already been pointed out, this appears to belong with the isolated single stichos in verse 17. Stanza 2 has here, in 8.3, for the couplet which should correspond to 7.9, a sadly distorted group of lines. Harper has wrongly shifted the group, and has in fact missed the entire strophic character of the two visions; here his discussion carries little weight. As the verse stands it reads:

> And-shall-be-howlings the-songs-of the-palace,
> On-that   day,   said   Yahwè Elohim;
> A-multitude-of corpses;
> In-every   place   he-shall-cast-forth   silence.

It is clear that the text is in confusion. A conventional prophetic phrase in the second period here interrupts the major portion of the text, and if retained should be shifted to the end of the stanza; otherwise it is necessary in view of its present position and the absence of a similar phrase in the other strophe to regard it as a later insertion.

Various suggestions for the reconstruction of this passage can be made. On the supposition that this last section in stanza 1 is a quatrain, and that the single stichos in 7.17 should be transposed to 7.9, thus giving four stichoi, it will be necessary to restore here a tetrastich. This would imply that the word *hēlīlū* in 8.3 would form the remnant of one stichos; *shīrōth hēkhāl*, the fragment of the third stichos; *be-khol māqōm*, the remnant of the fourth; and *hishlīkh* plus *rabh hap-pegher*, the second stichos (this supposition finds some support from a reference to 6.10 and 5.16); thus:

(In all the . . . . .) they howl,
    The corpses are piled in the streets,
The palace songs (are hushed)
    In every place, they say *hās!*

But if it be urged that a couplet here is necessary, various
more plausible suggestions can be offered. The first is to regard
hās as a part of a marginal *hēsīrū,* ''they-shall-fail,'' as in 5.23,
intended as a correction of *hēlīlū,* but inserted as *hās,* and as
hashlīkh by another copyist; the reading can then become:

And-there-shall-fail   the-songs-of   the-palace,
Many-shall-be   the-corpses   in-every-place.

Again it may be urged that the first stichos is genuine;
hishlīkh hās may be regarded as a gloss; while *rabh hap-pegher*
bᵉ-khol māqōm may be taken as the second stichos; this would
give a couplet only slightly different from the one just sug-
gested. Or if it is possible to take *hās* as a noun meaning
''silence,'' then an emendation of *hishlīkh* to *hoshlakh,* with an
omission of *rabh hap-pegher* would give: ''In every place is
silence cast.'' But to this emendation, as to the present Masso-
retic text, the objection might be raised that a prediction of
howling and one of silence are mutually contradictory. It
may be well also to consider Harper's emendation of *shīrōth* to
shārōth, ''the singing women,'' making the couplet:

And the singing women of the palace shall wail,
In every place shall there be a multitude of corpses.

Or if it be thought that *hās* is a dittography and abbreviation of
hoshlakh, the couplet becomes:

And the singing women of the palace shall wail,
A multitude of corpses!   In every place they are cast.

It is of course impossible to decide definitely upon any one of
these suggestions and conjectures. It is sufficient to note that
where a break in the interparallelistic arrangement of the
strophes occurs, there also the text is corrupt.

It may then be concluded with reference to this series that
these two strophes conform to a type stanza wherein deviations
are caused by slight and minor changes of the text, and major
variations by corruptions and textual errors. Where internal
and extensive parallelism is weakened, there a dubious and

vague text is found. It may perhaps be decided that if the correct text of this poem were existent, a perfect poem of exactly the same number of periods in each stanza would be present, and this would lend further weight to the idea that Amos and the prophets employed completely regular stanza poems.

PROSE–POETIC NARRATIVE: 7.10–17

It is believed by some scholars that the more important of the early stories had their first literary expression in poetry and that their prose form represents a subsequent stage of development. This principle may apply to the later narratives found in the prophetic books. Amos 7.10–17 is a narrative account of the encounter between the Prophet and the High Priest, Amaziah. It seems to be written in prose, but is in reality a combination of prose lines and extremely regular parallelism. The conclusion that this passage represented a combination of prose and poetry was arrived at independently of any commentaries; a glance at the work of other investigators confirmed the results reached. Harper's arrangement neglects the fundamental differentiation between the phrases of address in Amos, which it has been seen almost always stand outside the major portions of the text, and the real narrative and parallelistic material of the piece. In addition, Harper does not observe the couplet structure, but several times splits one stichos, complete in itself, into two portions, thus violating a fundamental rule of parallelism that only in cases of alternate and *qīnā* parallelism, can a stichos so be broken up.

The primary evidence that this piece contains poetry is of course found in the many parallelistic couplets. It includes no less than eight clear cut couplets, wherein synonymity is marked, and one couplet of a certain rhythmical balance but without the synonymity or terseness which would stamp it as parallelism. This verse, 10, has already been discussed and has been designated as a species of rhythmical non-parallelism, approaching the Hebrew prototype of unrhymed *saj'*. The phrases of address in verses 10–17 stand apparently outside the parallelism, and need not be taken into account in a consider-

ation of the couplets.   Verses 12–13 form something of an
accidental strophic arrangement:

> Oh Seer!   Go flee thee unto the land of Judah,
> And eat bread there,
> And there prophesy.

> But at Bethel thou shalt no longer prophesy,
> For it is the king's sanctuary,
> And it is the royal residence.

In this three line strophic arrangement, the two introductory
lines are about equal in length and are rhythmically similar
though there is no synonymity between them.   But the shorter
lines· viewed locally constitute a synonymous couplet in each
strophe.   If it is felt that the stichoi of these couplets are too
short, then they can each be combined into one fairly long stichos
composed of two hemistichs.   It is to be noted that these
words are placed in the high priest's mouth; surely it was not
customary for speakers thus in ordinary conversation to use
parallelism; possibly a later author made into parallelistic struc-
ture whatever he supposed the priest to have said.   In verse 11,
however, he quotes Amos, and there the parallelism is so definite
as to be indisputable.   It may well be that Amos in the heat
of his denunciation spoke in parallelism; this phenomenon is
present, as has been observed, in the Arabic *khutba*.   If the
priest usually spoke in parallelism in his oracles (and such
seems to be the case in Finnish, Arabic, Babylonian and other
literatures), here he may have done so out of force of habit.
Moreover, Amos is supposed to attribute to the high priest a
parallelistic couplet in verse 16.   The king's words, quoted by
the high priest in warning Amos, are not couched in synonymous
parallelism, but seem to constitute a rhythmical distich.   All
these points appear to suggest that even though the words here
attributed to prophet, priest, and king were not originally
spoken in parallelism, a later compiler and narrator, visibly
under the effect of prophetic style and method, has employed
parallelism better to make the passage seem the genuine work
of Amos.

Another seemingly rhythmical distich appears in verse 15.
If the phrase of address, "and-said God unto-me," is regarded

as equivalent to neutral quotation marks and hence outside the
parallelism, then the combination becomes:

> And Yahwè took me from behind the sheep;
> "Go prophesy against my people, Israel."

This distich has no synonymity, and has the additional dis-
advantage of combining a period of narrative and a period of
discourse.   Hence doubt may be rightly thrown upon this
arrangement.

It has already been noted that verse 9 may be transposed to
complete with verse 17 a full couplet, so that it may correspond
to the words imputed to Amos by the priest in verse 11.   It
may be objected here that this would make verse 17 longer than
the usual Massorètic verse, since it would contain the phrase
of address, and three complete couplets.   This, however, does
not outweigh the arguments in favor of the transposition.

Thus it will be observed that the only factors which play
a part in the non-poetical portions of the narrative are: (1) the
near-prose rhythmical distich in verse 10; (2) the prosaic narra-
tive lines in verse 10, and possibly in verse 14, though the latter
may belong to the following class; (3) the customary phrases of
address, such as "saying," "and Amaziah said to Amos," "and
God said unto me," the unusual "and now harken unto the word
of Yahwe," and finally, "therefore thus saith Yahwe," together
with the mocking taunt attributed to the king, "for thus saith
Amos," in verse 11.   These apparently stand outside of the
major parallelism, though Harper's arrangement into two
strophes of exactly fifteen lines each includes them in the
distich and strophic scheme.   The conclusion therefore is that
it is imperative to examine any so-called prose portions of the
prophecies with exceeding care to determine whether parallelism
can be discovered.   Moreover the presence of parallelism in a
supposedly prosaic passage appears to be further indication that
the prophets attributed parallelism not merely to the words
of God, but also to the speeches of their contemporaries and
opponents, who used it for no divine, but for a purely human,
utterance.   This may dovetail with the fact that parallelistic
rhymed prose was so common with the Arabs that even the

women and children employed it in ordinary speech. Any elaborate conclusions, however, on the basis of such slight evidence, are dangerous.

The question whether Amos or another writer composed this still remains unanswered. The style is that of Amos; the text is clear and apparently unimpaired. On this point it may be observed that an uncorrupted text usually shows uncorrupted parallelism—a converse to the conclusion reached above that a marred text is usually accompanied by broken parallelism. For these various reasons, then, this passage affords fruitful data for a determination of the degree and scope of interplay between prose and poetry in Amos.

CHAPTER III

THE DOOM SONG, AMOS 1.3–2.8

RECONSTRUCTION OF STANZAS 1, 2, 5 AND 6

(STANZA 1)
kō 'āmar 'ᵃdhōnāi

'al shᵉlōshā pishᵉ'ē dammeseq
wᵉ-al 'arbā'ā lō' 'ᵃshībhennū

'al laχᵃçām 'eth-hag-gil'ādh
wᵉ-dhūshām ba-χᵃrūçōth hab-barzel

wᵉ-shillaχtī 'ēsh bᵉ-bhēth χᵃzā'ēl
wᵉ-ākhᵉlā 'armᵉnōth ben-hᵃdhādh

wᵉ-shābhartī bᵉrīᵃχ dammeseq
wᵉ-dhalᵉthōth biqᵉ'ath-'āwen 'ᵃghaddēᵃ'

wᵉ-nāphᵉlū baχūrèhā bᵉ-bheth-'ᵉdhen
wᵉ-ghālū 'am-'ᵃrām qīrā

'āmar 'ᵃdhōnāi

(STANZA 2)
kō 'āmar 'ᵃdhōnāi

'al shᵉlōshā pishᵉ'ē 'azzā
wᵉ-'al 'arbā'ā lō' 'ᵃshībhennū

'al haghlōthām gālūth shᵉlēmā
lᵉ-hasgīr 'īr ū-mᵉlō'āh

wᵉ-shillaχtī 'ēsh bᵉ-χōmath 'azza
wᵉ-'akhᵉlā 'armᵉnōthèhā

wᵉ-hikhrattī yōshēbh mē-'ashdōdh
wᵉ-thōmēkh shēbheṭ mē-'ashqᵉlōn

wa-hᵃshībhōthī yādhī 'al-'eqrōn
wᵉ-'ābhᵉdhū shᵉ'ērīth pᵉlishtīm

'āmar 'ᵃdhōnāi 'ᵉlōhīm

(STANZA 5)
kō 'āmar 'ᵃdhōnāi

'al shᵉlōshā pishᵉ'ē bhᵉnē 'ammōn
wᵉ-'al 'arbā'ā lō' 'ᵃshībhennū

'al biqᵉ'ām 'ārē ghādh
lᵉ-ma'an harχībh 'eth-gᵉbhūlām

wᵉ-hiççattī 'ēsh bᵉ-χōmaṯh rabbā
wᵉ-'ākhᵉlā 'armᵉnōthèhā

wᵉ-hiphqadhtīw bᵉ-yōm milχāmā
bᵉ-sa'ar bᵉ-yōm sūphā

wᵉ-hālakh malkām bag-gōlā
hū' wᵉ-sārāw yaχdāw

'āmar 'ᵃdhōnāi

(STANZA 6)
kō 'āmar 'ᵃdhōnāi

'al shᵉlōshā pishᵉ'ē mō'ābh
wᵉ-'al 'arbā'ā lō' 'ᵃshībhennū

'al sorᵉphō 'ᵃçāmōth lam-mōlekh
way-yizbaχ 'ādhām lash-shēdh

wᵉ-shillaχtī 'ēsh bᵉ-mō'ābh
wᵉ-'ākhᵉlā 'armᵉnōth haq-qᵉrīyōth

wᵉ-hēmattī bᵉ-shā'ōn mō'ābh
bi-thᵉrū'ā bᵉ-qōl shōphār

wᵉ-hishmadhtī shōphēṭ miq-qirbāh
wᵉ-khol sārèhā 'ehrōgh 'immō

'āmar 'ᵃdhōnāi

(STANZA 1: Amos 1.3–5)

Thus saith Yahwè:

For three sins of Damascus,
Yea for four, I will not revoke it.

Because they oppressed Gilead,
And threshed with implements of iron.

So I will send fire into the house of Hazael,
And it will consume the palaces of Benhadad.

And I will break the bar of Damascus,
And the gates of Bikeath-Awen I will hew down.

And her youths shall fall in Beth-Eden;
And the people of Aram shall go into exile.

Saith Yahwè.

(STANZA 2: Amos 1.6–8)

Thus saith Yahwè:

For three sins of Gaza,
Yea for four, I will not revoke it,

Because they have exiled a complete captivity,
To deliver up the city and its contents.

So I will send fire into the wall of Gaza,
And it will consume her palaces.

And I will cut off the inhabitant from Ashdod,
And the sceptre-holder from Ashkelon.

And I shall turn my hand against Ekron,
And the remnant of the Philistines shall perish.

Saith Yahwè.

(STANZA 5: Amos 1.13)

Thus saith Yahwè:

For three sins of the Ammonites,
Yea for four, I will not revoke it.

Because they have pierced through the cities of Gad
In order to increase their borders.

So I will kindle a fire on the wall of Rabba,
And it will consume her palaces.

And I will visit him with a day of war,
With a whirlwind in the day of tempest.

And their king shall go into exile,
He and his princes together.

(Stanza 6: Amos 2.1–3)

Stanza 6.
Thus saith Yahwè:

For three sins of Moab,
Yea for four, I will not revoke it.

Because they have burned bones to Molech,
And sacrificed men to a *shĕdh*.

So I will send fire upon Moab,
And it will consume the palaces of Kerioth.

And I will slay in a tumult Moab,
With shouting, with the sound of the trumpet.

And I will destroy the judge from her midst,
And all her princes I will slay with him.

Saith Yahwè.

VERSE AND STANZA PARALLELISM

It is evident that chapters 1.3–2.8 are cast in the form of a poetical unit. There are patent indications of symmetry between the lines and between the various oracles. This fact has been noted by every recent investigator of the Book of Amos, and is at once observable to the general reader.

The poem deals with judgment to be inflicted upon the principal nations bordering on Israel and Judah—Damascus, Philistia, Tyre, Edom, the Ammonites and Moab—with the purpose of showing to Israel that as all the peoples have offended God by their acts against common morality and humanity, so Israel will suffer punishment for great or greater sins. The law of righteous retribution will be the standard for meting out merited doom to the nations. This Doom Song is similar to others scattered throughout the prophetical books. Zenner,

Mueller, Elhorst, Loehr, Sievers, Condamin, Baumann, Marti, Nowack, Harper and others have made valuable suggestions with reference to the proper arrangement of the poem, but nearly all have proceeded upon dangerous assumptions regarding strophe and metre; the principle of parallelism has been neglected to a large degree. This study is an attempt to apply the canons of parallelism in a reconstruction of the Doom Song.

An endeavor will be made on the basis of the internal and other evidence to learn whether complete symmetry can be expected in the poetic arrangement. It has already been observed in a discussion of the Grief Song and of the two pairs of visions in Amos that apparently the one factor which prevents close adherence to a model form is textual corruption. It will be clear from an examination of the Doom Song in Amos that the divergences must be explained on similar grounds.

The indications of verse symmetry or parallelism are numerous, and scarcely need further comment. The formulas of offense and punishment, and 1.5, 8, 11, 14, 15; 2.2, 3, 4, show the clearest parallelism, the types of which have been analyzed above. Though the degree of regularity varies, the presence of parallelism is indubitable.

The indications of stanza symmetry or interparallelism are more obscure and intricate, though none the less present. Eight times, at the head of each group, stands the couplet: ''For three sins,'' etc.; this leads to its designation as the ''introductory couplet,'' marking the beginning of what may now be called stanzas. Each of the eight stanzas contains the couplet: ''And I will send fire,'' etc. Intervening between these two constant formulas, are either a long line (1.3, 6; 2.1), two stichoi (1.9, 13), or four stichoi (1.11, 2.4). These stichoi state the specific offense of each nation. After the formula of punishment there occurs in some of the stanzas additional material, relating in detail the manner of the punishment, four lines occurring in 1.5, 8, 14–15; 2.2–3; three of the stanzas close with the punishment formula. It must be stated without delay that stanza 8 dealing with Israel, shows the introductory formula, but thereafter such marked variations from the other stanzas that it must

be observed separately.   The formula of punishment is missing,
the material of the offense has been extensively expanded; its
departure from the the other seven stanzas is so radical that
its consideration in relation to them would complicate and
hinder the discussion.

The survey of the song shows then, that there are eight
portions with much the same language and also much the same
sequence of thought.   This sequence of thought runs as follows:

God speaks ("Thus saith Yahwè"), stating

(1) his refusal to forgive under any circumstances,

(2) because of the sins of the offending nation;

(3) therefore he will reap vengeance by fire,

(4) and (in four stanzas) by varying modes of punishment.

Reiteration that God has spoken (in these four stanzas).
The designation "section" will be applied to each of the four
major points of this sequence; the word "member" or "term"
will denote each major word in these sections.

VARIATIONS IN THE EIGHT STANZAS

The repetitions within the small compass of the song are
quite numerous.   These include not the constant formulas, but
those phrases which seem out of place or which have the under-
current of stylistic unfitness associated with repetitions close
to one another.

1. None in the first section.
2. Second section.

1.3, 13	*hag-gile'adh*
1.6, 9	*le-hasgīr* and *hasgīrām*
	gālūth shelēmā
1.5, 6, 9, 15, forms of	*gālā*
1.9, 11	*'aχ*
1.11, 2.4	*shāmar*
2.1, 1.15	*melekh*
1.15, 2.4	*hālakh*

3. Third section, none.
4. Fourth section.

1.5, 8, the couplet	*we-hikhrattī*, etc.
1.5, 8; 2.3	*we-hikhrattī*
1.5, 6, 9, 15, forms of	*gālā*
1.14, 2.2	*bi-therū'ā*
1.15, 2.3	*sār*

The variations as between the stanzas are important.   The number of lines varies.

    Stanza 1, 11 lines in a series of 1, 2, 1, 2, 4, 1.
    Stanza 2, 11 lines in a series of 1, 2, 1, 2, 4, 1.
    Stanza 3, 7 lines in a series of 1, 2, 2, 2.
    Stanza 4, 9 lines in a series of 1, 2, 4, 2.
    Stanza 5, 12 lines in a series of 1, 2, 2, 2, 4, 1.
    Stanza 6, 11 lines in a series of 1, 2, 1, 2, 4, 1.
    Stanza 7, 9 lines in a series of 1, 2, 4, 2.

It is to be noted then: (a) the introductory prophetic phrase remains constant; (b) the introductory offense couplet remains constant; (c) the specific offense section undergoes many variations; (d) the doom couplet in a number of lines remains constant, though slight linguistic variations occur; (e) the expansion of the punishment description changes, in three cases being omitted, in four having four lines each; (f) the closing prophetic postlude phrase in the four cases where the extended description of punishment occurs, is present; in the other three cases, those minus expansion, it is missing.

The varying sections are the pivot of the whole study. Section 2, concerning the specific offense, suffers the greatest changes.   Stanzas 1, 2, and 6 have a single line; stanzas 2 and 5 have a pair of lines; stanzas 4 and 7 have two pairs of lines.   The single line in each case is extremely long, and while translatable, has an obscure sense; the text seems corrupt; at the same time no parallelism is present.   The sections with pairs of lines are also doubtful.   Stanza 3 shows in its first line a repetition from the section of stanza 2; the same vagueness of sense as in the other sections occurs; parallelism in the strict sense of synonymity and correspondence is absent between the two stichoi.   The sections with a double pair of lines in stanzas 4 and 7 are less difficult but not without flaws: the former has a difficult phrase in *we-shiχēth raχᵃmāw* and stanza 7 has the almost untranslatable *way-yath'ūm kizᵉbhēhem*.   The problems of the length of the lines, the lateness of language, and other points will be considered below.

Section 3 of the stanzas shows only slight variations.   The most interesting occurs in stanza 5 where the Prophet after

using *wᵉ-shillaχtī* six times, suddenly employs *wᵉ-hiççattī*. Per-
haps according to G. A. Smith's interpretation, this is due to
symmetrophobia; the most plausible reason, however, will be
pointed out below. In three cases "wall," in one "house," in
three the name of a city or country (stanza 1, Damascus; in
stanza 6, Moab, and in stanza 7, Judah) are used. Throughout
the seven stanzas, "palaces" occurs, but with the suffix *èhā* in
stanzas 2, 3, 5, and in the construct followed by the name of a
king in stanza 1, of a city in stanzas 4 ,6, 7.

Section 4 betrays puzzling variations. Stanzas 3, 4, 7 omit
entirely the section with the postlude; stanzas 2 and 5 have
apparently perfect parallelism; stanza 6, except for the repeti-
tion of *wᵉ-hikhrattī* and the suffixes, has apparently good parallel-
ism; stanza 1 is the most difficult of the set. It has four lines,
the second and third forming a couplet which is in excellent
parallelism, but which also stands at the head of section 4
in stanza 2. The first line of the fourth section in stanza 1
prophesies the destruction of the gates of Damascus; the fourth
stichos foretells exile for the population. That this fourth
section has undergone corruption is undoubted.

A final variation between the stanzas occurs in stanza 2,
where after a seemingly intact section of two parallelistic coup-
lets, not the final phrase, "saith Yahwè" but "saith my Lord,
Yahwè" occurs. The reason for this will be attempted below.

These discrepancies, which will increase in number as the
study advances, suffice to demonstrate the intricacy of the prob-
lems and the danger of any effort at dogmatic solutions. Their
greatest value is to raise certain fundamental questions, which
though they busy themselves immediately with the text in hand,
yet extend themselves in import to the whole mass of biblical
literature, and involve the most far-reaching points of disagree-
ment in modern biblical criticism. These questions, which have
already been suggested in the last chapter, are:

1. Why do the variations occur between the various lines of
the poem and between the various stichoi in seemingly parallel-
istic couplets?

2. Why do the variations occur between the stanzas?

3. Does a type couplet exist from which the variations occur without law, or does the type couplet merely serve as a substratum for variations guided by certain and regular laws of parallelism?

4. Does a type stanza exist which, despite the variations, was originally the model for the divisions of the entire Song?

In order to be able to propose answers to these questions, it is necessary that the text under discussion be minutely examined.

ANALYSIS OF THE EIGHT STANZAS

Stanza 1.—Damascus

The oracle on Damascus is apparently genuine and in the main originated with Amos. The first evidence for this conclusion is the strophic structure of the stanza. It consists of $1 + 2 + 1 + 2 + 4 + 1$ periods. The arrangements of Harper, Mueller and Loehr neglect the sectional character of the piece, and bring lines together into triplets which in reality should be separated into independent units. The second section, of one stichos, is faulty, but an emendation gives two stichoi in good couplet formation. The fourth section, though composed of four stichoi is also faulty; when reconstructed, however, it still retains the same number of periods, but two good couplets emerge. Hence the arrangement in the light of corrections becomes $1 + 2 + 2 + 2 + 4 + 1$; this total of 12 periods conforms with the expected and suggested model stanza.

The second proof of the authenticity of the oracle is the specific character of the offense, which references in the historical books will be found to substantiate. The third proof is the language used. Though the stichoi b, c, and d are apparently late or misplaced in section 4, the terms of the other sections apparently are genuinely Amosian in style.

In the opening or prelude prophetic phrase and in the offense formula the stanza adheres to the model. The second section on the specific offense affords difficulty:

> Because they have threshed with threshing implements of iron
> Gilead.

This is a single stichos, without any parallelism; the line is unnaturally long, comparable therein to the second section in stanzas 2 and 6; the presence of the object *'eth-hag-Gil'ādh* so far from the verb increases the doubt. Two stichoi in parallelism are expected. Loehr, Harper and others make the word *'eth-hag-Gil'ādh* into a second stichos; but that a single detached word should act as such is impossible.

Several reconstructions may be suggested:

1. *'al laχ^{a}çam 'eth-hag-Gil'adh*
   w^e-dūshām ba-χ^{a}rūçōth hab-barzel.
   Because they pressed by force Gilead,
   And threshed with implements of iron.

The event to which Amos refers is quite clearly the oppression of Israel by Hazael, king of Syria (II K. 8.8ff.; 9.14, 15; 10.32; 12.18, 19; 13.3ff.). This oppression covered a period from c. 830–790 B.C. The specific nature of the offense can be perhaps seen by a comparison with II K. 13.7. Here, after the pure prose, ''For he (Hazael) left to Jehoahaz of the people none save fifty horsemen and ten chariots and ten thousand footmen,'' occurs a couplet in perfect parallelism:

For the king of Syria destroyed them,
And made them like dust for the threshing.

The use of the phrase *ke-'āphār lā-dhūsh* points to the identity of the events referred to by Amos. In II K. 13.4, with regard to the subjection of Israel to Hazael, occurs the noun *laχaç;* the verb, meaning ''to oppress,.to squeeze'' makes an excellent synonym to *dūsh* and is further sanctioned by its usage in Amos 6.14.

2. *'al dūshām 'eth hag-Gil'adh le-'āphār,*
   wa-y^{e}sīmūhū kam-mōç lā-dhūq.
   Because they have threshed Gilead to dust,
   And made him as chaff for the pressing.
3. *'al dūshām 'eth hag-Gil'ādh ba-χ^{a}rūçōth,*
   way-yāçar bi-m^{e}ghērōth hab-barzel.
   Because they threshed Gilead with implements,
   And sawed him with iron saws.

One group of reconstructions still remains. The Septuagint leads the way; its translation for the second section of stanza 1 reads: ''Because they sawed with iron saws the women

with child of the Galaadites''; and for the same section in
stanza 5: ''Because they ripped up the women with child of
the Galaadites.''   Either the translators did not understand
the text in 1.3, or they confused it with 1.13, or what is more
likely, the original text of the two sections stood in intimate
relationship.   In stanza 5, there is something of a *non-sequitur*
in ideas between the first and second stichoi of the couplet in
the second section; moreover no historical evidence is at hand
to show that the Ammonites committed the barbarity on the
people of Israel. But a fruitful passage in II K. 8.12 attributes
this very act to the Syrians under Hazael.   This passage, which
contains two poetical couplets in the midst of prose narrative,
is a prediction by Elisha of the deeds of Hazael as king:

> Their strongholds wilt thou set on fire,
> And their young men wilt thou slay with the sword.
> And thou wilt dash to pieces their children,
> And rip up their women with child.

The following suggestion may then be made:

> 4. *'al biq'ām hārōth hag-Gil'adh,*
> *we-dūshām ba-χ^arūçōth hab-barzel.*
> Because they ripped up the pregnant women of Gilead,
> And threshed them with implements of iron.

This takes over bodily from stanza 5 the first stichos, and omits
''Gilead'' in the second stichos.

Conclusions on the second section of stanza 1 are: (1) the
text does not appear to be the genuine composition of Amos;
(2) a second stichos is needed to complete the couplet; (3) the
probable restorations are numerous.   Either the first or the
fourth of the above may be preferred.

The fourth (i.e., punishment) section of stanza 1 reads as
follows:

And I will break the bar of Damascus	(a)
And I will cut off the inhabitant from Bikath-Awen	(b)
And the sceptre-holder from Beth-Eden	(c)
And the people of Aram shall go into exile to Kir.	(d)

This section does not appear to be original with Amos, but
contains insertions and later additions: (1) The ideas are more
numerous than in any other fourth section of the Doom Song:

destruction of buildings, presumably of palaces; slaughter of inhabitants; slaughter of ruler; exile for the nation. (2) The lack of close parallelism points to a faulty text; stichos a has no parallel as in the other stanzas; d has no complement; nor can they be combined to form a couplet. The central location of the parallelistic couplet b plus c violates the form of the other fourth sections. (3) The repetition of the central couplet at the head of the fourth section in stanza 2 operates against its authenticity in stanza 1; it is entirely in place in stanza 2, which conforms to the model stanza in its structure in the fourth section, whereas in stanza 1 it is out of place. How then did this section come to have its present form?

In II K. 16.9 occurs the passage: "And the king of Assyria went up to Damascus and conquered it and led it into exile beyond Kir and Rezin he killed." The phrase *way-yaglèhā* (i.e., *gālū 'am-'arām*) *Qīrā* bears so striking a resemblance to the Amos phrase *gālū 'am-'arām Qīrā* that between the two some interrelation may exist. Two hypotheses are possible: first, that the Amos passage is prior, and that the Kings verse is a later insertion, or second, that the narrative account preceded, a later editor having brought Amos into conformity therewith.

In support of the first theory, it may be said that it seems plausible that Amos had Assyria in mind as the world power which would wreak vengeance upon Damascus, for it was the most likely to engage in the practice of deportation. The words in II K. 16.9 refer to the actual punishment which Amos presumably foretells. The result of the combined attack of Pekah, King of Israel, and Rezin, King of Damascus, upon Judah (II K. 16.5ff.; Is. 7.1), was that Ahaz applied to Tiglath Pileser for help; he responded to the appeal and slaughtered the King of Damascus and exiled the nation. Verse 9 is apparently not in good condition; the repetition of the name *melekh 'Ashshūr* leads to the supposition that something may have been omitted between the two parts of the sentence; the real interest of the narrator is in a portrayal of the sin of idolatry which arose from contact of Ahaz and Assyria. Though the verse may be a condensation, the second portion is apparently intact in its own limits.

The redactor of Kings may have inserted the phrase *way-yaglèhā Qīrā* in order that the specific reference of Amos to the impending destruction of Damascus might be borne out by the narrative. If it be said that the fourth stichos in Amos is an addition, then the closing prophetic phrase "saith Yahwè" is left hanging in the air; moreover the stichos in question is itself a beautiful and euphonious line, worthy of the best prophetic style. In Amos 9.7 the combination *'arām mē-Qīr* seems to sanction the juxtaposition of the two names in stanza 1.

In support of the hypothesis that the fourth stichos in Amos is a later insertion on the basis of Kings, it may be adduced that the phrase referred to in 9.7 either makes the stichos in stanza 1 illegitimate, or is itself dubious. "Aram from Kir" indicates that Kir was the ancient home of the Arameans out of which God brought them, as He did Israel out of Egypt and Philistia out of Crete. Professor Max Mueller objects that "if Kir was the original home of the Arameans, the Assyrians would never have deported them back to their own country where they would have found remainders of the original stock of the nation and would by union with them become strong again." He suggests that 1.5d was inserted on the basis of 9.7.

Against the notion that the phrase *way-yaglèhā Qīrā* was interpolated in II K. 16.9 it seems more plausible to believe that the historian would remain true to the facts, while the Prophet would be more vague and poetically indefinite, and an editor would adjust the prophecies *ex post facto* to the actual events. That the phrase in question is inserted so abruptly in the middle of the sentence shows that it was written in the margin, or over the other words, and that a later copyist embodied it in the text proper. Additional evidence for the genuineness of the line in Kings may be found in II K. 15.29, where the writer refers to the punishment of Pekah by Tiglath-Pileser: "And he exiled them to Assyria" (*way-yaghlēm 'Ashshūrā*). If it be urged that the line in Amos is authentic and that the events, as he prophesied one generation earlier, actually occurred, it may be said with justice that this accuracy is in itself suspicious.

Another ground for conceiving stichoi b, c, d as later insertions is found in a consideration of the central couplet, b–c, which evidently seeks to express the idea of the destruction of Damascus royalty.   In II K. 16.9 this thought is expressed specifically in the words: "and Rezin he slew," an event which took place in the year 732 B.C. in the generation immediately following Amos.   Isaiah refers in 17.1–3, dedicated to the "burden of Damascus," to the fact that "sovereignty shall cease from Damascus."   This prophecy appears to have been written after the formation of the Syro-Ephraimitish alliance between 736 and 732 B.C.   Upon the foundation of these two passages, a later redactor may have thought it necessary to include the death of Rezin in the prophecy of Amos.   Finding close at hand a couplet which expressed in true Amosian language this very idea, he borrowed it bodily from the fourth section of stanza 2, its proper location, and inserted it in stanza 1, regardless of the disruption of the parallelism, the omission of the original words of the Prophet, and the repetition.   This change may have been made when the event was still fresh in the mind of the nation, perhaps after the fall of Samaria in 721, or before the end of the century.   It may be definitely stated then, that the central couplet is out of place, and except perhaps for the proper names, was not genuine with Amos.

The section as it now stands in need of emendation may be portrayed graphically as follows:

1. The three stichoi, b, c, and d, are later insertions; this gives as the only extant words of the prophet here:

> And I shall break the bar of Damascus
> . . . .
> . . . .
> . . . .

This makes necessary the suggestion of three new lines to fill the gap: one parallel to a; two, c and d, parallel to each other; or

2. Merely the couplet b-c is a later insertion:

> And I shall break the bar of Damascus
> . . . .
> . . . .
> And the people of Aram shall go into exile.

This demands the substitution of two new lines, b parallel to a, and c parallel to d; and the acceptance of the hypothesis that stichos d is genuine with Amos, and the words in II K. 16.9 a later insertion.

The first couplet may be reconstructed as follows:

> we-shābhartī $b^{er\bar{\imath}a}\chi$ Dammeseq
> we-dhal$e$thoth Biq'ath-'āwen 'ghaddē^a'.

> And I will break the bar of Damascus,
> And the doors of Bikath-Awen I will hew down.

The use of *shābhar*, "break," with *deleth*, "door," is found in Gen. 19.9, though not in a military sense. The words *deleth* and $b^{er\bar{\imath}a}\chi$ are found together in Deut. 3.5; Is. 23.7; II Chron. 7.5; Ps. 107.16; Jer. 49.31; Ez. 38.11; Is. 45.2; Job 38.10; II Chron. 14.6. They occur also in couplets in perfect parallelism, e.g. Jer. 45.2, and Ps. 107.16. Other suggestions are *sha'ar*, "gate," in conjunction with $b^{er\bar{\imath}a}\chi$, "bar," as in the parallel couplets Lam. 2.9; Ps. 147.13; Na. 3.13; $\chi\bar{o}m\bar{a}$, "wall," used in combination with $b^{er\bar{\imath}a}\chi$, Deut. 3.5; II Chron. 8.15, 14.6. The word *mibhçār*, "fortress," is referred to in II K. 8.12, wherein Elisha and Hazael converse, and may be used here on the principle of poetic justice. The parallelism between *shābhar* and *gādha'*, "hew down," or "into pieces," is established by numerous usages; they are used as synonyms in two perfectly parallel couplets, Is. 45.2 and Ps. 17.16; they are also used in other parallelistic couplets but without exact correspondence. Variations of the couplet suggested above are possible, some of them excluding the name of *Biq'ath-'āwen,* others affecting the form of *gādha'*.

For the second couplet the following reconstructions are suggested:

1. A restoration of two lines for the second couplet can be made on the basis of Jeremiah's prophecy on Damascus, 49.23–27.

> Her youths shall fall in the streets
> And all her men of war shall be silent.

Since Damascus has treated Israel barbarously, it will be punished in kind; in II. K. 8.12 Hazael is destined to "slay youths

with the sword,'' and a reference in Amos to the same punish-
ment for Damascus on the principle of poetic justice would be
appropriate.   This very retribution, indeed, is mentioned in
Jer. 49.26 in the oracle on Damascus, which shows points of
striking resemblance to Amos; verse 27 is an almost exact dupli-
cation of the punishment formula in Amos 1.4; Jeremiah uses
the couplet again in 17.17, 21.14, 50.32.   The possibility of a
nexus between these two oracles permits the assumption that
words taken out of Amos may in another text have remained,
and that Jeremiah, with slight changes, incorporated them into
his own prophecy on Damascus.

2. A restoration of one line and the retention of the proper
name may be found in this suggestion:

> Her youths shall fall in Beth-Eden,
> And the people of Aram shall go into exile to Kir.

A similar grouping of the idea of death and exile is found in
Amos 7.11 and 17.   Though the parallelism here is not close,
the synthetic relationship of the stichoi is found often in Amos.
Another suggestion based on the idea of exile is found in one
of the many forms of which this is an example:

> And Beth-Eden shall go into captivity,
> And the people of Aram shall go into exile to Kir.

In conclusion it may be urged that a possible reconstruction of
the fourth section take this form:

> And I will break the bar of Damascus,
> And the doors of Bikath-Awen I will hew down.

> Her youths shall fall in Beth-Eden,
> And the people of Aram shall go into exile to Kir.

Stanza 2.—Philistia

The oracle on Philistia is apparently genuine and in the
main original with Amos.   The first evidence for this conclusion
is the strophic structure of the stanza.   It is divided into $1 +
2 + 1 + 2 + 4 + 1$ periods, after the manner of the first
stanza.   The two formulas are correct; the fourth section
consists of two perfect couplets and is therefore apparently cor-
rect and genuine; the closing phrase varies in this stanza from

all others, for it has "hath my Lord Yahwè said," instead of "hath-said Yahwè," as in six other cases.   The most important divergence from the type stanza is in the second section:

Because they have exiled a complete captivity to deliver to Edom.

The line is evidently corrupt because it is a long prose line, where two lines in a couplet are needed; its meaning is doubtful; it is repeated almost identically in stanza 3, section 2.

Stanza 2. 'al haghlōthām gālūth sheelēmā leehasgir le-'edhōm.
Stanza 3. 'al hasgīrām gālūth sheelēmā le-'edhōm.

The following probabilities exist: (a) The stichos may belong in stanza 2 and must be emended to form a couplet; this would entail the omission of the similar stichos in stanza 3.   (b) The stichos in stanza 2 is out of place, necessitating the substitution of a couplet on an appropriate theme; this omission would sanction the retention of the similar stichos in stanza 3.   (c) The stichos in stanza 2 is a later substitution based on events which followed the time of Amos and which a later redactor inserted, even as he tampered with the text of stanza 1.   This decision would either affect stanza 3 in the same way, or would leave open the question of the appropriateness of the stichos there on its own merits.

In defense of the present text, the following material may be brought to bear: the event to which Amos refers may be the attack mentioned in II Chron. 21.16ff.   During the reign of Jehoram (851–843 B.C.) the Arabs and the Philistines raided Judah, and "they came up into Judah and brake into it, and carried away all the substance that was found in the king's house, and his sons also, and his wives, save Jehoahaz, the youngest of his sons" (the Book of Kings makes no mention of this raid and it is uncertain whether it ever took place). The description of the thoroughness with which the marauders made their captures leads to the supposition that this might be the "complete captivity" referred to in Amos.   In stanza 1, Amos seems to have taken the offense from the days of Hazael, immediately following this event.   It may perhaps be that he turns back to the reign of Jehoahaz for the historical data on which to found the offense of Philistia.   In order to retain the

text in its present form, the following arrangements may be suggested:

> Because they have exiled a complete captivity
> To deliver up to Edom.

This follows the analogy of stanza 5, where "in order that" is used in the second stichos in the same way that "to" is used here in the sense of "in order that"; but this is not parallelism.

Another arrangement can be devised by taking over word for word the couplet forming the second section of stanza 3. But the only passages in support of the idea of a covenant between Philistia and Israel occur in Gen. 21.27, 32 and 26.28; and these afford little substantiation for the change suggested.

In searching further for an explanation of the stichos under discussion, it may be noted that the second section in stanza 2 is apparently late. It is not plausible that Amos would refer to a border raid participated in not merely by Philistines, but by Arabs as well, as the basis for his fierce denunciation. Moreover at the time of Amos, II Chron. 26.6–7 apparently shows that Philistia was under the domination of Judah. King Uzziah (782–737 b.c.), during whose reign Amos was active, "went forth and warred against the Philistines and brake down the wall of Gath, and the wall of Jabneh, and the wall of Ashdod, and he built cities in the country of Ashdod and among the Philistines. And God helped him against the Philistines, and against the Arabians that dwelt in Gur-baal and the Mehunim." This text is important. It would seem that Amos must have directed his prophecy against Philistia before the success of Uzziah, for it may well be asked: "Why should the Prophet predict doom for a nation already doomed?" Moreover it was the king of Amos' own home who accomplished their subjugation. To this might be answered that Amos prophesied against Philistia in the light of the attack which he knew Uzziah contemplated, and in order to find a justification for Uzziah's war he harked back to the attacks by the Philistines and Arabs more than a century before. On the other hand it is more likely that Amos, or perhaps a later redactor, would denounce Philistia at a time when it tormented Israel.

The hostility of Philistia becomes apparent immediately after the death of Amos. During the reign of Ahaz of Judah (735–715 B.C.) the Philistines become inimical and successful. In II Chron. 28.16–19 occurs a picture of the distress of Judah : "For again the Edomites had come and smitten Judah and carried away captives. The Philistines also had invaded the cities of the low country, and of the south of Judah. . . ." Though this passage is doubtful, it mentions the activities of Edom and Philistia apparently in union; and though Edom is here referred to as the captive maker, Philistia, too, may be regarded as an invader and slave-trader. Additional evidence for the hypothesis that the historical background for the offense of Philistia may lie in the generation immediately following Amos (as is the case in the central couplet in stanza 1, section 4), is found in Is. 9.11, where the Prophet mentions "Syria on the East and Philistia on the West"; 11.14 showing Philistia's hostility; 14.28–32, delivered after the death of Ahaz, and pointing to the bitterness between the two nations. This enmity may have given rise to a revision of Amos' prophecy in order to make it more specific and in line with events after its delivery.

A second suggestion is that the prophecy on Philistia was revised in the light of the text of Jeremiah. Jer. 13.19 and the oracle in Jer. 47.1–7 show several affinities with the text of Amos which will be remarked in a discussion of the fourth section below.

A third suggestion is that the prophecy was remodelled in post-exilic days. Ezek. 25.15–17 proclaims the offense of Philistia as perpetual hatred (see below, on Edom), and exultation at the downfall of Judah in 586 B.C. Though the sin of the nation differs from that mentioned in Amos, yet the similarity of language in the fourth section appears to demonstrate an influence of Amos on Ezekiel or vice versa. Zeph. 2.4–7 and Zech. 9.5–8 state no offense, though the language of the latter again points to borrowings from Amos. Joel 4.4–8 refers to the activities of the Philistines as slave-traders in company with the Tyrians; Edom is not mentioned (see below, on Tyre). But unless it is

admitted that the prophecy in Amos on Philistia is in part at
least post-exilic, it is dangerous to find any influence of the Joel
text on the revision of Amos, for it would place the final recast-
ing of Amos around the year 350 B.C.

Possible emendations of this text are not so numerous as in
stanza 1.

> 1. Because they have exiled a complete captivity,
>   And delivered them into the hand of the enemy.

The phrase "into the hand of the enemy" occurs with *hisgīr*
in Lam. 2.7, and in a figurative sense in Ps. 31.9.

> 2. Because they have exiled a complete captivity,
>   And delivered the people to the sword.

This is based on Ps. 78.62, wherein a perfect couplet occurs with
this idiom, though the second stichos has no points of comparison
with the Amos text.

A second group of emendations is based upon an interpre-
tation of the word *sāghar* as meaning "shut up" with reference
not to individuals but to cities.   Josh. 6.1 refers to Jericho as
sōghèreth ū-mᵉsuggèreth, "straitly shut up"; in Jer. 13.19
occurs the significant couplet:

> The cities of the South are shut up; and there is none to open;
> Judah is exiled, all of it; an exile of peaceful ones (a complete
>   exile).

This couplet is in perfect *qīnā* parallelism.   The phrase *hoghlath
shᵉlōmīm* is emended by many to read in conformance with the
Amos text, *gālūth shᵉlēmā*.   The Septuagint offers the weightiest
evidence for this change, for it has the words "complete cap-
tivity" in the Greek, whereas in the Amos passage it reads for
both stanzas 2 and 3 "the captivity of Solomon." .   This shows
that the Septuagint translators did not read the phrase on the
basis of Amos, which they understood wrongly, but solely be-
cause they possessed a clear text in Jeremiah.   The fact that
Jeremiah does not use this couplet in a prophecy on the Philis-
tines may be ground for the belief that he borrowed the phrase
from Amos, rather than that a later redactor copied it from
Jeremiah.   For the later editor would in all probability turn
to Jeremiah's prophecy on Philistia for terminology and ideas
on which to rebuild the Amos text; whereas the couplet in

question occurs in Jeremiah in an entirely different connection.
It may be, however, that a few words in Amos suggested the
Jeremianic couplet; therefore regardless of its position, it may
have served as the basis for a reading of Amos.   Data in favor
of a reconstruction of the Amos line on the groundwork of the
Jeremiah couplet may be found in the use in stichos a in Jere-
miah of a form of *sāghar* and in stichos b, a form of *hoghlath
sheᵉlōmīm* or *gālūth sheᵉlēmā*.   A fact against this manipulation
is that Jeremiah, as the Joshua text also, quite properly speaks
of the shutting up of cities first, and then of captivity, or deliv-
ery; while in Amos the order is reversed; hence if the text
is made to apply to cities, it would be illogical.   For purposes
of suggestion, however, these formations may be written down:

   3. Because they have exiled a complete captivity,
      To deliver them up, with none to free.

      'al haghlōthām gālūth sheᵉlēmā
      leᵉ-hasgīr weᵉ-lō' yeᵉphatteᵉχū.

This entails merely the addition of the phrase "and not open,"
or "free," which in Jeremiah refers to cities, but may here be
taken to refer to the captivity.   The form *leᵉ-hasgīr* may become
way-yasgīrū, "and they delivered."

   Another group of suggestions may rest upon the idea of
"complete captivity" in phrases such as *kol hash-sheᵉbhī* (Amos
4.10, 9.14; Jer. 30.16), *kol hag-gōlā* (Jer. 28.6, 29.4, 20, 31; Ezek.
6.20), but these are unsatisfactory not merely on the ground of
sense, but also because of the lateness of the phrases.

   4. Because they exiled a complete captivity,
      And delivered up the city and its contents.

      'al haghlōthām gālūth sheᵉlēmā
      way-yasgīrū 'īr ū-meᵉlō'āh.

This is based upon Amos 6.8: "And I will deliver up the city
and its contents," *weᵉ-hisyartī 'īr ū-meᵉlō'āh.*   Doubt is thrown
on the verse in its position in chapter 6 because the Septuagint
has the Greek equivalent for the Hebrew *weᵉ-hikhrattī,* "and I
will cut off"; moreover, the verse is out of place; it has no com-
plementary stichos; it is followed by verses 9–10, a prose piece
in great confusion of language and thought; transposed to chap-

ter 1 it makes a couplet in which the synonymity is quite close, and the parallelism is good.

All these suggestions, however, have omitted the word *le-ʾedhōm*, "to Edom." It has been affirmed that this is a gloss inserted by reason of later events, perhaps the hostility of Edom at the time of the destruction of the Temple (see discussion of stanza 4). Mitchell in his commentary on Zechariah (p. 237), suggests that the phrases "to deliver them to Edom" in verse 6 and "to Edom" in verse 9 are explanatory glosses suggested by Ezek. 35.5; this would lend weight to the idea that the line was reworked after the Exile. But it may be that *le-ʾedhōm* is a corruption for a word which would place the line in good couplet form, and give a kind of synonymity; it will be seen below that the word "Edom" in stanza 6 must be emended to a form *ʾādhām*, "man"; either *kol ʾādhām*, "every human being," or *kol hā-ʾadhāmā*, "all the land," may have been the original here; thus the couplet becomes:

> Because they have exiled a complete captivity,
> To deliver up all the land (or every human being).

> *ʿal haghlōthām gālūth shelēmā,*
> *le-hasgīr kol ādhām* (or *kol hā-ʾadhāmā*).

Whatever be the decision on the value of these suggestions, they suffice to show that the line in its present form is untenable; the restoration of parallelistic couplet structure, though the exact phrases are beyond reach, seems entirely justifiable.

The fourth section of stanza 2 contains two couplets in parallelism, the first of which is repeated in stanza 1, as a later insertion. The slight variation in the closing postlude prophetic phrase has already been noted. Comparisons which show startling points of similarity can be made with various prophetic passages. Amos reads:

> And I will cut off the inhabitant from Ashdod,
> And him that holdeth the sceptre from Ashkelon,

> And I will turn my hand against Ekron:
> And the remnant of the Philistines shall perish.

Jer. 47.4 contains terms and phrases similar to Amos:

> Because of the day that cometh to spoil all the Philistines,
> To cut off from Tyre and Zidon every helper that remaineth.

> For the Lord will spoil the Philistines,
> The remnant of the isle of Caphtor.

The comparisons with Ezek. 25.16, a part of a chapter which shows resemblances to Amos in point of stanza arrangement, repetition of prophetic formulas and other *motifs,* are equally striking; moreover in verses 6, 8, 12, 14 of this series, Ezekiel uses the phrase "hath-said Adhonai-Yahwè."

> Therefore thus saith the Lord, God:

> Behold I will stretch out my hand upon the Philistines,

> And I will cut off the Cherethim,
> And destroy the remnant of the sea coast.

In Zeph. 2.4–7 the most important likeness is the stichos: "and I shall destroy you to become without inhabitant"; Zech. 9.5–8, too, shows resemblances which have often been noted (Mitchell, *ICC,* 266–267), particularly at the end of verse 5 and the whole of verse 6:

> And a king shall cease from Gaza,
> And Ashkelon shall not be inhabited.

> And a bastard shall rule in Ashdod,
> And I will cut off the pride of the Philistines.

Did the text of Amos fall under the influence of this passage through a later redactor, or did Zechariah imitate Amos? The sentence on the "bastard," according to Mitchell, refers "to the deterioration of the population of Palestine during and after the captivity, as pictured in Neh. 13.23ff., or the mixed character of the people with whom the country had been colonized by its conquerors." It is fairly certain that Zechariah borrowed from Amos, not in slavish imitation, however, but with subtle variations which differentiated his work from that of his predecessor.

It may then be concluded with some degree of surety that while (*a*) the first couplet is genuinely the work of Amos, (*b*) the second couplet has to some extent been influenced by the

material of Ezek. 25. One probability is that the second couplet and the closing phrase are late, though this would entail the same conclusion with reference to the second couplet in the fourth sections of the other stanzas. A second and more defensible decision is that the closing words *'āmar 'ᵃdhōnāi Yahwè* were inserted because of the similarity of the Amos couplet to the Ezekiel passages. This would justify the entire fourth section, and would show the reason for the deviation of the closing phrase to be the same as that for which the word *wᵉ-hiçᶜattī* in stanza 5 deviates from *wᵉ-shillaχtī* of the other stanzas; i.e., not "symmetrophobia," but the whim or carelessness of a later redactor, who probably was led by the likenesses between two passages to make changes in one to conform to the other. This interplay of influence seems general in the edition of texts by later compilers, to whom the question of priority of texts seems to have been of no importance.

STANZA 3.—TYRE

The oracle on Tyre displays characteristics which mark it off distinctly from the other stanzas. As it now stands, the fourth section together with the closing prophetic phrase is missing; and the first stichos of the second section is a repetition of the second section in stanza 2.

The oracle might be regarded as genuine on the ground of the following data: (a) The second section contains a couplet apparently in good parallelism, as the type stanza demands. To retain this couplet would, of course, entail the omission of the section in stanza 2, where an almost bald repetition of the phrases and thought is visible; to make the whole stanza conform to type would demand the acceptance of the supposition that the fourth section has for some unaccountable reason dropped out, and hence must be supplied from data contemporary with or before Amos. (b) The historical situation between Tyre and Judah seems to point to the authenticity of the stanza. The brotherly covenant to which Amos refers may be the one mentioned in I K. 5.26 between Hiram and Solomon. Hiram calls Solomon "brother" also in I K. 5.1ff. 9.13, 16.31; II S.

5.11 (see also I K. 7.13; I Chron. 14.1; II Chron. 2.3, 11). These
friendly relations continued especially during the time of the
royal unions with Tyrian nobility; at the time of Elisha and
Elijah, resulting foreign idolatries became the subject of sharp
denunciation.   A gap in the historical records is responsible
for the lack of information as to the time when political hostility
between the two nations began.   In Is. 23.1–14 occurs an oracle
on Tyre, delivered apparently around 722 B.C.; this indicates
the attention which the Prophets immediately following Amos
paid to Tyre; and it might be presumed that Amos also may
have included them in the round of his utterances.

But the evidence against the authenticity of the oracle is
more plausible, and it may be presumed that the stanza is late.
(a) The strophic structure is $2 + 2 + 2$; the omission of the
fourth section and the postlude makes the stanza the shortest
of the whole series, for in the other oracles wherein the fourth
section is missing—i.e., stanza 4 on Edom, and stanza 7 on
Judah—there is found in the second section an additional par-
allelistic couplet.   (b) As Harper points out, the oracle adds
no new thought to the series.   The formulas are repeated; only
one city is named, namely, Tyre, neither Sidon nor the other
large cities of the kingdom receiving attention.   The same
charge as against the Philistines is levelled against Tyre; the
only new stichos introduced is the line on the brotherly covenant.
(c) "If the geographical order prevailed as elsewhere from
North to South, verses 9–11 would have preceded verses 6–8"
(Harper, p. 28).   (d) The historical data do not afford suf-
ficient evidence in support of the authenticity of the oracle, in
view of the events which followed the lifetime of Amos.   The
Prophet seems here to think that the violation of the brotherly
covenant is a sin; but if the alliance between Tyre and Israel
was abhorrent to the Prophets, it is not likely that they would
be angered if this covenant, provided it ever existed, were
broken.   Hence it would appear that stichos b of the second
section is not original with Amos.

The long succession of prophecies against Tyre which issue
from the successors of Amos indicates that a later redactor in-

serted this oracle in Amos. The denunciation by Isaiah, 23.1–14, may be retroactive in its witness to a hostility between Tyre and Judah at the time of Amos; but it is more probable that the Amos stanza was introduced at the time of Isaiah, as was the case with several words and stichoi in stanzas 1 and 2. The Isaianic prophecy is placed by Gray (*ICC,* p. 386) after the "long siege to which Tyre was subjected by Shalmaneser" (727–722 b.c.) ; Isaiah mentions no offense by Tyre against Judah. It has already been suggested that some connection may exist between the oracles of Jeremiah and these of Amos; Jeremiah mentions Tyre in 25.22 and 27.3, but dedicates to it no special Song. If it be believed that Jeremiah wrote with a text of Amos before him, it may be surmised, then, that one text was revised by a redactor after 720 b.c. around the time of Isaiah's activity; but that Jeremiah possessed a text unrevised and genuine with Amos. A third edition may have been made on the basis of these two texts, combining them into one (see conclusions below).

Or since Ezekiel, chaps. 26–28, contains a long and brilliant oracle against Tyre which originated around 570 b.c., apparently during an era when Tyre was at the height of its prosperity, the Amos oracle may have been added at this date. Joel 4.4–8, too, offers significant evidence. Joel speaks of the slavery activities of both Phoenicia and Philistia; but in the place of Edom, as in Amos, the countries of Javan (Greece) and the Sabaeans figure; the recipients of the slaves whom the Phoenicians sell are the Greeks (see Ezek. 27.13). Bewer (*ICC,* p. 130ff.) states that these verses in Joel were written with reference to the behavior of the Persians under Artaxerxes Ochus, around 352 b.c.; the writer added these verses on the behavior of the Phoenicians and the Philistines because it "called for special condemnation. They were the slave-traders and merchants to whom the Persian soldiers had sold their captives and their booty."

On the question, then, of the offense in Amos, the following probabilities are suggested: (a) The redactor may have inserted an ancient offense to give the prophecy an archaic flavor and

to lend the thought that it originated with Amos. (b) The redactor may have based the offense on Ezek. 27.13 (see above) ; Edom is not mentioned here, however, but Javan (as in Joel 4.4–8), and it would therefore be necessary to regard the phrase *le-'edhōm* in Amos as a gloss. (c) The offense couplet may have been changed later on the basis of Joel 4.4–8, though the outline of the oracle may date from the time either of Isaiah, or Ezekiel.

A word must be said on the disposition of the second stichos of the second section: "And they remembered not the covenant of brothers." In defense of its authenticity it may be urged: it is in a good couplet, though the synonymity between the lines is not close; on the general principle that except on rare occasions it is unwise to disturb a parallelistic couplet, the temptation to throw the verse out must be checked until further examination; furthermore the literary quality of the stichos is good; it consists of the customary three members. But against the legitimacy of the stichos many arguments may be advanced. It is improbable that Amos referred back to the days of Solomon to secure an historical reference, in view of the events in the intercourse between the two nations which had occurred since the division of the kingdom. The verse also has the word *āχīm*, which repeats the word *aχīw* of stanza 4. The stichos is not needed in Edom's oracle, because already two superfluous stichoi are present there, and moreover it will be seen that the prophecy on Edom appears to be late. It cannot be placed in the second section of the Judah stanza for the same and other reasons. The second section on the Ammonites cannot contain it because two stichoi are already present; there is no reference to an alliance either with Philistia, Moab, or Israel; it would be inappropriate in the second section of stanza 1, for the passages on the alliance between Ahab and Benhadad, I K. 20.34, and between Syria and Israel, I K. 15.19 and II Chron. 16.3, are insufficient to form substantiation for the transposition in the face of other weaknesses of parallelism and sense.

The final and most plausible suggestion for the presence of the verse is that it is a variant reading of the stichos *'al rodhephō*

ba-χerebh 'aχīw, "because he pursued with the sword his brother," in stanza 4 on Edom; its presence in the margin or above the line may have furnished the later redactor with a stichos out of which to form a distich in the second section of the prophecy which he constructed in order to secure an oracle presumably from Amos; a combination with a stichos from stanza 2 made a distich, and hence gave the oracle a flavor of genuineness. But whatever may have been the process by which it attained its present status, it seems quite certain that it did not proceed from Amos.

Hence in conclusion it may be affirmed that the prophecy on Tyre is late. It may have been introduced either after 720 B.C. or after 570 B.C.; possibly it was interpolated at the first date and reworked after the second; moreover, after 350 B.C. it may have once more been retouched. This would tend to show that three editions of the entire Doom Song were made.

Stanza 4.—Edom

Edom plays an important rôle in the Doom Song, for it is mentioned four times, once in connection with the slave trade of Philistia, once in connection with the slave trade of Tyre, once as the victim of Moab's offense in stanza 6, and again as the theme of stanza 4. It is generally agreed that this oracle is late; it is supposed to date from exilic or post-exilic times.

The first point to show the lateness of this stanza is its strophic structure. The number of stichoi is $1 + 2 + 4 + 2$, as in stanza 7 on Judah. The second section contains two couplets where only one is needed for the type stanza. The fourth section with the prophetic postlude is missing, as in stanzas 3 and 7, which are also placed late. The second evidence for the lateness of the stanza is the nature of the offense mentioned in the second section. Tradition early described Edom as a brother to Israel. In early historic times Edom was subject to Israel and for two centuries was under its domination (I K. 11.16; II K. 14.7). Edom is hostile at the time of the Exodus, and at the time of the revolt of Hadad during the reign

of Solomon, an event too remote to serve as the basis for Amos'
prophecy. In the days of Joram (c. 893 B.C.) occurred another
revolt of Edom (II K. 7.20–22; II Chron. 21.8–10), again too
distant for Amos' purposes, for it may be surmised that the
Prophet would naturally select an event closer to his own day
and fresher in the minds of his readers and listeners.

In II K. 14.7 and II Chron. 25.5–13 occur the stories of the
defeat of the Edomites at the hand of King Amaziah of Judah
around the year 795 B.C., a little more than a generation before
Amos began his prophetic activity. The defeat is thorough, for
in verse 12 it is stated: "And ten thousand left alive did the
children of Judah carry away captive and brought them unto
the top of the rock and cast them down from the top of the rock
and they all were broken to pieces." (On stanzas 2 and 3, it
is instructive to note here that Edom is made the captive and
not the recipient of Judaean captives.) II Chron. 26.2 also
tells of the continued humiliation of the Edomites, for Uzziah,
the king contemporary with Amos, took the city of Elath from
them and restored it to Judah. The question may then legiti-
mately be asked: Since Edom was so soundly defeated both
shortly before and contemporaneously with Amos, why should
the Prophet direct against them an oracle foretelling a doom
which had already fallen upon them? Notice further Amos'
use of the term "the remnant of Edom" in 9.12; the Blessing
of Esau, Gen. 27.39ff., supposed to have originated at this period,
also tells of the subjection of Edom to the sway of Israel. It is
therefore necessary to search for the *raison d'être* of the oracle
in Amos in events which transpired after his death.

Plenteous evidence is found in generations succeeding, for
the insertion of a prophecy against Edom. In II Chron. 28.17,
a narration of the incursions of the Edomites at the time of
Ahaz is given: "again the Edomites had come and smitten
Judah and carried away captives." The use of the word
"again" may lead to the thought that contemporaneous with
Amos the event first occurred, giving rise to his prophecy. It
seems more likely, however, that the event referred to must have
occurred directly before the one mentioned. Ahaz is compelled

in 734 B.C. to apply to the King of Assyria for assistance.   Edom
is mentioned in Isaiah, chapter 34, in terms of vigorous denun-
ciation.   Hence the first suggestion is that the Edom stanza
was inserted into Amos around the year 720 B.C., together with
parts of stanza 1, section 4, and stanza 2, section 2, and possibly
stanza 3.

The evidence points more specifically to an exilic or post-
exilic reconstruction of this prophecy in Amos.   Jeremiah after
several references to Edom (9.25, 25.21, 27.3) devotes to it a
whole oracle in 49.7–22.   The passage is confused and bears
resemblances to Obadiah's anti-Edom utterances; the offense of
Edom is haughtiness and pride of heart (verse 16).   But it is
in the Book of Ezekiel that the most weighty hints on the origin
of the oracle occur.   The data point clearly to the fact that the
passage in Amos refers to the attitude of Edom towards Judah
at the destruction of the Temple in 586 B.C.   Ezek. 25.12–14
proclaims as the offense of Edom, their self-exacted vengeance
upon Judah for which they will be punished in kind.   Ezek. 35
gives the identical offense, apparently, to which Amos refers:
''Because thou hast had a perpetual hatred and hast shed the
blood of the children of Israel by the force of the sword in the
time of their calamity, in the time that their iniquity had an
end'' (verse 5; see also verses 12, 13, 15).   The words *'ēbhath
'ōlām* compared with Amos, stanza 4, second couplet of the
second section, give a clue to the date of the Edom oracle in
Amos.   The utterances of Obadiah bear out the same indica-
tions.   For in verses 10–11 occur references to the ''violence''
of the Edomites and their conspiracy with the invaders at the
destruction of the Temple.   Joel 4.19 refers to the slaughter of
Judah by Edom, even as does the first couplet in the Amos
offense section; Ps. 137.7 gives additional data (cf. also Ps. 83.7).
Malachi 1.2–5 apparently at a later date, refers to the historic
enmity between Edom and Israel despite the fact that they were
''brothers.''

The necessary conclusion seems to be that the offense men-
tioned in Amos occurred around 586 B.C., and that the second
section was written in the light of the prophecies of Ezekiel and

Obadiah.   Harper correctly says (p. 31) : "The cruelty which furnished the basis for the ill feeling on the part of Israel came with the exile.   It was not unnatural therefore, that a later writer, devoid of historical perspective and thinking that Edom deserved denunciation, should frame a section which in due time secured a place in the text of Amos."

The third evidence for the lateness of the Edom oracle in Amos is the character of the language, especially in the second section.   As has been noted, the real foundation for the section appears to be Ezek. 35.5, wherein two ideas, hatred and pursuit by sword, are grouped; the writer of the Amos material has expanded them into two couplets, whereas on the basis of the Ezekiel passage, the form could be one couplet, omitting the second stichos of each existing couplet in the section :

> Because he pursued with the sword his brother,
> And forever his anger tore.

This agrees with Harper's suggestion that stichoi b in both couplets are glosses, and the second section then holds the number of stichoi which the type stanza demands.   On the other hand, the arrangement destroys two couplets in entirely good parallelism, whereas it is a cardinal principle that, normally, couplets in good form should not be disturbed; to escape the task of reconstruction, it may be urged that if the entire stanza is late, there is no need to make it conform to the model stanza, for it is clear that the later redactor neglected entirely the adherence to a model structure.   Ezek. 35.6 on the *motif* of poetic justice states: "and blood shall pursue thee"; compare also Obad. 10 and Joel 4.19 for references to the bloody pursuit suggested by Amos.

The use of the term "brother" with reference to the relationship between Israel and Edom occurs in Deut. 2.4; Gen. 27.40, 41; Num. 20.14; the admonition in Deut. 23.8, "Thou shalt not abhor an Edomite for he is thy brother" was evidently written before the Destruction and the hostility of Edom.   Neither Isaiah, Jeremiah, Joel, nor even Ezekiel refers to Edom as Israel's "brother"; in Obad. 10.12 and Mal. 1.2–5 the term is revived, probably to emphasize the heinousness of Edom's

offense.   Malachi speaks of Edom as "the people against whom
the Lord hath indignation forever."   This may be poetic jus-
tice for the attitude of perpetual hatred which Edom cherished
towards God's people Israel.

The second stichos of the first couplet: "and he destroyed
his compassion" is unwisely omitted by Harper; the exact sense
of the period is dubious, and depends on the interpretation of
raχᵃmāw either as "his compassions" or "his wombs," his
pregnant women.   The word *lᵉ-mashχîth*, "for destroying,"
is used in Ez. 25.15 with reference to the phrase *'ēbhath 'ōlām*
applied to Philistia there, but to Edom in 35.5; Ezekiel uses the
word at least eight times more in different forms.   It is difficult
to suggest a correct reading; in view of the fact that the entire
oracle is placed late, no reconstructions will be advanced.

The second couplet of the section is in perfect parallelism,
though a slight change is advocated, on the basis of Ps. 103.9
and Jer. 3.5, where two perfectly parallel couplets are present;
this change makes *way-yiṭrōph*, "and it tore," into *way-yiṭṭōr*,
"and he cherished."   This suggestion was first made by Ols-
hausen and has been generally accepted.   The Jeremiah couplet
shows striking similarities to this Amos passage, and may be
based upon it, or vice versa.   If the phrase *way-yiṭrōph* is
retained, similarities to Job 16.9 and 18.4 must be noted.   The
phrase *lā-'adh 'appō* occurs in Micah 7.18 in a parallel couplet.
The second stichos of the Amos couplet is omitted by Harper
because "from the point of view of the interpolation, it is a gloss,
merely repeating the thought of the preceding phrase in synony-
mous words."   This is perhaps the very reason why the stichos
should be retained, because it makes admirable parallelism.
Moreover, the example of Jer. 3.5 supports the usage of the
couplet, and fixes the text as substantially correct.   The form
neçaχ occurs in Ps. 13.2 and Jer. 15.18, though several commen-
tators wish to amend it to *lā-neçaχ* as in Amos 8.7.   It may be
concluded with reference to the couplet that its language sug-
gests the later Psalms and Jeremiah, rather than Amos himself.

A fourth reason for regarding the oracle on Edom as late
is that "Petra, the most important city of Edom is not men-

tioned, while the names Teman and Bozrah occur elsewhere
chiefly in the late writings'' (but cf. Gen. 36.33, 34) : Teman
is mentioned in Obad. 9 (parallel to *har 'ēsaw*) ; in Jer. 49.7, 20
(parallel to ''Edom,'' as in Ezek. 25.13, and Hab. 3.3) ; Bozrah
occurs in Is. 34.6, 63.6 (parallel to ''Edom''), Jer. 49.13, 22
(Gen. 36.33 and I Chron. 1.44 have it in an identically worded
verse).   The lateness of the word ''Teman,'' together with the
lateness of ''Bozrah,'' therefore adds other evidence to the
hypothesis that the stanza on Edom is exilic or post-exilic.

STANZA 5.—THE AMMONITES

Stanza 5 on the Ammonites is perhaps the model stanza.   Its
strophic structure conforms to the type form, since it is 1 +
2 + 2 + 2 + 4 + 1.   The second section contains the necessary
two stichoi, though it will be seen that they are not in the most
exact parallelism; the fourth section contains two good couplets.
The meaning of the entire oracle is on the whole clear, except
for the possible *non sequitur* between stichoi a and b of section
2; a solution of the difficulty here involved will give a stanza
clear in meaning and perfect in form.

The occasion for the delivery of a prophecy against the
Ammonites presents difficulties.   During the reign of Jehosha-
phat (c. 850 B.C.) the Moabites and the Ammonites were defeated
(II K. 3.4–27, and II Chron. 20).   During the reign of Uzziah,
contemporaneous with Amos, the Ammonites paid tribute to
Judah (II Chron. 26.8) ; during the reign of Jotham of Judah,
the successor to Uzziah, and immediately after Amos (c. 739
B.C.), war was waged against the Ammonites and Jotham ''pre-
vailed against them''; as a result they brought him heavy tribute
(II Chron. 27.5).   The question may be now propounded : If
the Ammonites brought tribute to Uzziah and were thus subject
to him, why was it necessary for Amos to deliver against them
an oracle of doom?   It appears, however, that they were by
no means completely subjugated; apparently they proved hostile
during the entire lifetime of Amos and were not fully quieted
until the reign of Jotham; which fact points to the appropriate-
ness of an oracle against them in this series original with Amos.

The destruction which the Prophet foretells may have been imminent in the war waged by the contemporary kings.

If it be not agreed that the prophecy is genuine with Amos, the only other time it seems plausible is during the post-exilic period.   Is. 11.14 contains the only reference to them in his work; Jeremiah delivers a telling denunciation of them in chapter 49, with which Amos has noteworthy likenesses; Ezekiel 21.33–37 and 25.1–7 contain references to the behavior of the Ammonites at the time of the Destruction, while Zeph. 2.8 has two couplets of interest for the origin of the Amos oracle.   A decision on the date of the appearance, the redaction and the reworking of the Amos portion will be attempted after the evidence has been reviewed.

Section 2 of this stanza reads thus:

> Because they have ripped up the pregnant women of Gilead,
> In order to enlarge their border.

For the literal translation and retention of this couplet, especially of the first stichos, many references offer testimony.   On the practice of barbarity to pregnant women, see I K. 8.12; Hos. 10.14, 16; II K. 15.16; Is. 13.16; Nah. 3.10; Ps. 137.9. Harper affirms: ''The reference is in every way so specific as to suggest a particular event. This event may have been in connection with the attack of Nahash, the Ammonite, upon Jabesh Gilead (I Sam. 11) or a league of the Ammonites with the Syrians under Hazael (II K. 8.12, 10.32).''

But several facts labor against the retention of the present text.   Harper's suggestion does not appeal, because in none of the instances mentioned is there a hint of an alliance between Ammon and other nations against Israel.   Moreover the repetition of the word ''Gilead'' from stanza 1 throws doubt upon the stichos; it has already been pointed out that the event referred to here should more properly be joined to the oracle on Syria, and a reconstruction of the second section of stanza 1 has proceeded on this assumption. The discrepancy in thought between the first and second stichoi is marked: What is the relation between the ripping up of pregnant women and the expansion of national borders, except perhaps that this act is symbolic of

a ruthlessness which has national domination as its aim? Several emendations may be proposed in the light of historical and philological evidence:

> 1. *'al gārᵃshām mīrushshāthō 'eth Gādh
> leᵉ-maᶜan harχībh 'eth gᵉbhūlām.*
>
> Because they have dispossessed from his inheritance Gad,
> In order to increase their borders.

The sin of the Ammonites as mentioned in Amos is that they have usurped the territory of Israel. Even in the period of the Judges, the Ammonites had laid claim to the land which the Israelites had captured from Sihon of the Amorites during the period of the Exodus. The story of Jephtha's battle on the seizure of Gilead by the Ammonites contains a long diplomatic communication on the justice of Israel's legal and historical claim to the land. There is general agreement that verses 12–28 of chapter 11 are a later interpolation, the motive of which is to establish the title of Israel to its possessions between the Arnon and the Jabbok. The Ammonites never ceased to wage war for additional territory (Jud. 10.8; I Sam. 11.11, etc.).

In II Chron. 11.11 a reference to the traditional sin of Ammon occurs. This version of the victory of Jehoshaphat over Moab and Ammon (see II K. 3.4–27, wherein the Ammonites are not mentioned) includes a reference strikingly similar to the phraseology of Judges, chapter 11: "And behold they requited us by coming to cast us out of thy possession which thou hast given us to inherit." This verse is evidently the work of a later poet (cf. Ezek. 21.35, the prophecy against Ammon, which has the line: "I will judge thee in the place where thou wast created, in the land of thy nativity," referring thus vaguely to this central thought).

Jer. 49.1–7 against the Ammonites contains the most important suggestions for the Amos passage:

> Concerning the Ammonites,
> Thus saith Yahwè,
>
> Hath Israel no sons?
> Hath he no heir?

Why then doth their king inherit Gad,
And his people dwell in his cities?

Therefore behold the days are coming, saith Yahwè

That I will cause to be heard in Rabbah of the Ammonites an
     alarm of war
And it shall be a desolate heap.

And her daughters with fire shall be burned,
And Israel shall be heir unto them who were his heirs, saith
     Yahwè.

> Howl, O Heshbon, for Ai is spoiled;
> Cry ye daughters of Rabbah,
> Gird yourselves with sackcloth;
> Lament and run to and fro by the hedges;

For their king shall go into captivity,
His priests and his princes together. . . .

This prophecy appears to be in a corrupt state of preservation.
It is made up of two separate strands, interlaced and combined,
one a song of exultation and lament, the other a doom song or
denunciation. The song of lament was written either by Jere-
miah, or a contemporaneous author; it is in great confusion.
The denunciation affords significant data for comparison with
the Amos oracle. The major discrepancies between the two
denunciations are: (a) omission in Jeremiah of the introductory
couplet formula of Amos; (b) four lines of offense in Jeremiah
to two in Amos; (c) formula of punishment in Amos shifted
in place and language in Jeremiah; (d) line on destruction in
war shifted in place and with a different complementary stichos
in Jeremiah. The similarities are: 1. In thought: (a) offense
in both cases is dispossession; punishment in both cases is war,
cry, fire, and exile. 2. In language: (a) *kō 'āmar 'ᵃdhōnai;*
(b) the word *mālkām* is used twice; (c) *tiççathnā* to match
wᵉ-hiççattī in Amos; (d) the words *tᵉrū'ath milχāmā* to match
in Amos *bi-thᵉrū'ā bᵉ-yōm milχāmā;* (e) the last couplet in
the denunciation is identical, except for the use in Jeremiah of
kōhᵃnāw in place of Amos' *sārāw.* The question arises: Did
Jeremiah borrow from Amos, or did a later redactor reconstruct
Amos on the basis of Jeremiah? If the former supposition is
true, then it is evident that the Prophet injected enough of his

own thought and phraseology into the terms of Amos to render
them his own; for there are slight differentiations which mark
the prophecy as decidedly the work of Jeremiah.   But if Jere-
miah based his own utterance on Amos, is it not possible to gain
from this fact information for a possible reconstruction of errors
in Amos' oracle ?   The correct portions in the denunciation in
Jeremiah may throw light upon the apparently incorrect por-
tions in Amos.

The influence of the correct Jeremiah text on the incorrect
Amos stichoi is seen most effectually in one fact: In Amos,
Gilead is the victim of the Ammonites; in Jeremiah, it is Gad.
In both cases the offense is dispossession.   The repetition of
"Gilead" in stanza 1, and the discrepancy of thought between
the two stichoi in the second section, thus lead to the belief that
instead of Gilead, the name Gad originally occurred in Amos
as the victim.

In defense of the correctness of the term Gilead, in Amos,
it must be mentioned that Gilead in the time of Jephtha, at the
time of Nahash's attack, and on numerous other occasions, was
the sufferer from Ammonitish raids.   It is known that the
territory of the Ammonites east of the Jordan was included
in the portion assigned to Gad, itself east of the Jordan (Josh.
13.24–28), while "Gilead" in its larger meaning designated the
whole territory east of the Jordan except Bashan, in contrast
with Canaan, west of the Jordan; it stands specifically for the
territory of the two and one-half tribes, Gad, Reuben and half-
Manasseh.   However, Gad and Gilead always stand in close
relationship; sometimes Gad's territory is placed in Gilead;
sometimes the two are joined (see Harper, p. 17); sometimes
Gilead is used alone when Gad is unmistakably included; in-
deed, "Gad" and "Gilead" are so closely synonymous that
oftentimes the terms are exchanged; and so in Amos, Gilead
may have included Gad; "Gilead" may have been a general
term, with Gad specifically in the Prophet's mind.   Moreover,
in defense of the term "Gilead," it must be admitted that
though it is a repetition, it does not mar the form of the poem
in any great degree.

On the other hand, the use of "Gad" as the victim of Ammonitish cruelty would add to the effective reconstruction of the stanza. Josh. 13.24 shows that the boundaries of Gad were all the cities of Gilead and half of the land of the Ammonites. In Deut. 33.20 occurs the significant sentence: *bārūkh ham-marχībh 'eth Gadh,* "Blessed is he that enlargeth Gad," using *marχībh* as in the second stichos of the Amos distich: he who broadens Gad is blessed; per contra, he who broadens himself—i.e., as in Amos, extends his boundaries at the expense of Gad—is cursed. Hence the anger of Amos may be due to the fact that the Ammonites had diminished the already small tribe of Gad. To make a coherent couplet, it may therefore be necessary to have the first stichos apply to Gad, so that the thought may lead up naturally to the second stichos, wherein *harχībh* is used. In Jer. 49.1, the offense of the Ammonites is against Gad; this part of the oracle is genuine, as the parallelism and sense are good; and the affinity between the two oracles leads to the supposition that Jeremiah secured his stimulus for the thought from Amos; hence again there would seem to have been in Amos a reference to Gad. The term "Gilead" may have been inserted in post-exilic times, for the evidence points to the fact that after the fall of Samaria, the Ammonites occupied the territory of Gad or Gilead (cf. the doubtful verse in Obad. 20). Therefore to restore the Amos text to the form from which Jeremiah took suggestions, it is necessary to supplant "Gilead" with "Gad." In the couplet which has been suggested as the first reconstruction, the term "inheritance" is used as in II Chron. 20.11 and Jer. 49.1 with reference to Gad. The phrase *gārash mīrushshā* is incorporated on the foundation of the passage in II Chron. 20.11 which refers to this act by the Ammonites.

> 2. *'al biqᵉ'ām 'ārē hag-Gādh,*
> *lᵉ-ma'an harχībh 'eth gᵉbhūlām.*
>
> Because they have pierced through the cities of Gad,
> In order to widen their boundaries.

This substitutes *'ārē* "cities," for *hārōth,* "pregnant women." In Josh. 13.25 occurs a reference to "all the cities of Gilead."

Jer. 49.1 reads, ''and his people have taken their residence in his
cities.'' The word *bāqaʻ*, ''pierce through,'' with ''cities'' is
sanctioned by II Chron. 32.1; II K. 25.4; Jer. 39.2; Ezek. 30.16,
24.10; Jer. 52.7; and by other passages in which it occurs in
warlike operations: ''to make a breach in the city walls'' (cf.
II Chron. 21.17 and Is. 8.6 with reference to Judah).

In place of *hārōth* the word *hārē*, ''mountains of,'' has been
suggested by Jewish commentators, who sought to mitigate the
barbarity of the passage (Harper, p. 36); the Ammonites were
thus guilty of breaking the law of boundaries (Deut. 27.17).
Kittel and Valeton suggest the reading *beçūrōth*, ''fortified
places.''

Another group of restorations grows out of the omission of
the second stichos of the couplet as a later addition on the basis
of the Ammonitish attacks against Gilead and Gad immediately
after Amos or during the exilic days; this would leave authentic
here the first line and invalidate several of the suggestions made
in stanza 1 which transposed this line to its second section.
Though there is no mention that the Ammonites were guilty
of the cruelty referred to, this does not imply that it did not
occur.

> 3. Because they have ripped up the pregnant women of Gilead,
>   And the young children they dashed into pieces.

This is based upon the parallelistic usages in Hos. 14.1; II K.
8.12; and upon the presence of the phrase ''their children shall
be dashed to pieces'' in several other passages that prophecy
destruction: Nah. 3.10; Hos. 10.14; Ps. 137.9; Is. 13.16ff.
Another suggestion is to read for the second stichos, ''and the
fruit of the womb they pitied not'' (cf. Is. 13.18).

It is difficult to determine upon the best of these suggestions;
the evidence is so complicated that a categorical decision is out
of the question; they suffice, however, to point the way to the
difficulties in the text, and the probabilities upon which recon-
structions can be founded.

The third section of stanza 5 has instead of *we-shillaχtī*,
''and I will send,'' *we-hiççattī*, ''and I will kindle.'' The
thought that the author through superstition and fear of exact

symmetry in the formulas changed the word here, is baseless, especially since other words are changed throughout the constant couplets. The word *we-hiççattī* is very popular with Jeremiah; the close nexus between this prophecy on the Ammonites by Amos and that in Jeremiah, chapter 49, points to the conclusion that in Amos' original text *we-shillaχtī* may have been used, but that a later redactor inserted *we-hiççattī* on the basis of Jeremiah. It cannot be said that the entire Amos prophecy was written on the pattern of Jeremiah; it is more feasible to support the notion of an interplay of influence; Amos affected Jeremiah; then through a later compiler and editor, Jeremiah's text affected Amos. This would indicate that several texts existed with different readings in the minutiae and that the final redaction was made through a synthesis of the variant readings.

The fourth section of stanza 5 has two couplets in apparently excellent parallelism. The first couplet differs from its equivalents in the other three type stanzas in that no direct verb stands at its head. It is not imperative that this verbal *motif* be employed, for the arrangement here used is found in other prophetic passages. An objection may be made to the use of *bi-theru'ā*, "with shouting," however, since in section 4 of stanza 6, on Moab, the same word occurs. Though the Septuagint has the same phrase in each place, it seems necessary that one of the two usages must be omitted in order to present a text free from careless repetitions. Moreover, the context as it stands is awkward ("and it shall devour the palaces with shouting"), when compared with Amos 2.2 and particularly with Jer. 49.2.

The second stichos of this first couplet in the fourth section of stanza 5, though in excellent parallelism to the first line, presents some difficulties. Harper in order to maintain his three line strophic arrangement states (p. 35): "The clause ... is but a weak repetition of the preceding clause and there is nothing to correspond to it in the parallel section on Moab (2.1–3), although in every other respect the parallelism is perfect." This omission of a line in perfect couplet formation

is unwarranted, for the disruption of a parallelistic couplet can only rarely be tolerated; moreover the logical scheme of the poem in conformance to the model stanza would be broken.   For this stichos, the Septuagint reads: "and she shall be shaken in the days of her destruction."   This presents the following probabilities: (a) either the Septuagint wrongly read the text; in defense of the text as it stands may be cited Ps. 83.16, Is. 29.6, Nah. 1.3; or (b) in the text which the Septuagint translators possessed there actually was a basis for the variant reading.   If the latter was the case, perhaps the variant was a marginal reading intended to replace the $bi\text{-}th^er\bar{u}\,'\bar{a}$ of stichos a (which has, indeed, been shown to be suspicious); the translators, however, read it instead as a variant of $b^e\text{-}sa\,'ar$, "with a tempest," possibly because its radicals resembled those of $sa\,'ar$.   This would sanction the retention of $b^e\text{-}sa\,'ar$ in the second stichos and the substitution in the first for $bi\text{-}th^er\bar{u}\,'\bar{a}$ of a verb in the Hebrew based on the Greek $\sigma\epsilon\iota\sigma\theta\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$.   Finally, even if $bi\text{-}th^er\bar{u}\,'\bar{a}$ be retained here, and the Greek verb be regarded merely as a translation of the root $s\bar{a}\,'ar$ (cf. Zech. 7.14), it would still seem necessary to insert a verb at the head of the first stichos.   Among the possible suggestion are: $w^e\text{-}r\bar{a}\,'{}^ash\bar{a}$, "it shall shake" (cf. Amos 9.1); $w^e\text{-}hir'{}^ashti$, "I shall shake" (cf. Ps. 60.4, Hag. 2.7); $w^e\text{-}ni\,'art\bar{i}$, "and I shall shake"; best of all can be used $w^e\text{-}hiphqadht\bar{i}w$, "and I will visit him."   Though the exact verb cannot of course be suggested, it is sufficient to point out the flaw and the possibility for correction.

The second couplet of the section is in perfect parallelism. There is doubt as to the exact meaning of *malkām;* it may be "Milcom," the name of the Ammonitish deity, or merely "their king," or both.   There is also the question whether $k\bar{o}h^an\bar{a}w$, "his priests," should be substituted in Amos for $h\bar{u}'$, on the basis of Jer. 48.7, and 49.3, an almost identical repetition of the Amos couplet.   But it is not necessary or even advisable to make the substitution; for however great the similarities between prophetic oracles, identical repetitions are few; each author touches his borrowings with his own individuality.   This couplet shows affinities between the Amos and Jeremiah texts, but to

make the two absolutely identical would violate even the little that is known of the psychology of literary borrowing.

It may then be concluded that stanza 5 is for the most part original with Amos.   A first revision of his utterance may have been made immediately after the Prophet's death, perhaps after the invasion of the Assyrians and the fall of Samaria; the date may be placed around 720 B.C.   A later redaction may also have been made; for though the historic offense of the Ammonites was dispossession of Israel, another sin is credited by the Prophets to their neighbors after the time of the Destruction: Ezek. 25.1–7 and Zeph. 2.8 tell of the presumptuous boasting of the Ammonites at the occasion of Judah's downfall.   In the latter text, the form *way-yaghdīlū 'al gᵉbhūlām*, though it seems to have a bearing on the Amos portion, is given a different meaning by reason of its context and the parallelism.   Similarly a phrase in Joel 4.6, *lᵉ-ma'an harχīqām nie'al gᵉbhūlām* shows striking linguistic similarities to the second stichos of the distich in the second section of stanza 5, but it has no application to the Amos passage. It may well be that another revision of the Amos oracle took place in post-exilic times; this would agree with conclusions on the redaction of the other oracles in the Doom Song.

<h3 style="text-align:center">Stanza 6.—Moab</h3>

The sixth stanza on Moab, diverges from the model stanza only in its second section.   At present its strophic structure is $1 + 2 + 1 + 2 + 4 + 1$.   Harper's arrangement of $5 + 3 + 3$ is not justifiable because it breaks up two couplet structures in the fourth section, even though it gives a couplet in the second section.

The occasion for the oracle is found in the historic enmity between Moab and Israel.   This hostility existed in the earliest period of the Exodus and continued through the reign of the Judges and the victories of the kings Saul and David.   After the division of the kingdom, Moab became the subject of Israel, but revolted under Ahab and thereafter proved troublesome. In II K., chap. 3, and II Chron. 20.1–30 occurs the story of the conflict of the Moabites on the one hand, with the king of Israel,

Jehoram, the king of Judah, Jehoshaphat, and the king of Edom
on the other (c. 850 B.C.).   In II K. 13.20 is a mention of a raid
by the Moabites.   Thereafter no reference to them occurs until
the prophecies of Isaiah.   But it may be well to take for granted
that at the time of Amos, the Moabites were unconquered, and
that Amos would find ample reason for a prophecy of denunci-
ation against them; there is, indeed, a slight possibility that
Jeroboam conquered Moab (II K. 14.25); if so, this campaign
may have occurred before or contemporaneously with Amos'
oracle.

The second section as in the case of the other stanzas gives
difficulties:

> Because they burned the bones of the king of Edom to lime.

Here a long prose line occurs as in stanzas 1 and 2.   The offender
is Moab, the victim is the king of Edom, the offense apparently
desecration of royal bones by burning.   In defense of the
authenticity of the text, Is. 33.12 may be brought to bear: "and
the peoples shall be cut up as the burnings of lime."   It may
be borne in mind that at the time of Amos Edom apparently
was friendly with the Judaeans, and any offense against them
might have roused the prophet's ire.

But more evidence against the authenticity than in favor can
be brought: (a) The only mention of Edom and Moab co-jointly
occurs in II K. 3.4–27, where the conflict between the allied
Jewish forces and Moab is recounted; in verse 26 is the line:
"And when the king of Moab saw that the battle was too sore
for him, he took with him seven hundred men that drew swords,
to break through even unto the king of Edom, but they could
not."   The next verse continues: "Then he [the king of Moab]
took his eldest son, that should have reigned in his stead, and
offered him for a burnt offering upon the wall."   Here it is
to be observed that though the king of Edom figures, it is not
he who is burned, but the son of the king of Moab.   If the Amos
stichos is to refer to this event, it cannot remain as it stands.
It may be that the verse was doubtful and was reconstructed by
a later redactor in order to make it conform with this episode;
for that the event made a profound impression upon the mind

of Israel is seen from the words: "And there was great indignation upon Israel, and they departed from him and returned to their own land." Still, it may be asked if this event, occurring in 850 B.C., did not occur too early to become the foundation for Amos' prophecy. (b) In II Chron 20.1–30 is a glorified record of this same campaign. Herein no specific act of barbarity is related; moreover the enmity of Moab and Edom is due to the will of Yahwè; whereas Amos mentions an act committed wantonly against the dictates of common humanity. There is sufficient evidence, however, to afford the following reconstruction:

> a. *'al sorᵉphō 'ᵃçāmōth lam-mōlekh*
> *way-yizbaχ 'ādhām lash-shēdh.*
> Because they burned bones to Molech,
> And sacrificed a human to a demon.

Here a parallel couplet is secured in conformance to the demands of the type stanza. The various phrases in this restoration are justified by biblical passages; *sāraph 'ᵃçāmōth* occurs in I K. 13.2; II K. 23.16, 20, and II Chron. 34.5, though in the sense of bones burned upon the altar in order to render it unfit for use; it must be admitted that the phrase in connection with human sacrifice to Molech does not appear.

The words *melekh 'ᵉdhōm* are changed in this restoration. The reading *'ᵉdhōm*, indeed, is clearly out of place. It may have arisen out of a misunderstanding of the word *melekh* in conjunction with *'ᵃçāmōth*, and the frequent occurrence of *melekh 'ᵉdhōm* may have led to its insertion—at a time when "Edom-phobia" afflicted the Prophets—i.e., a desire because of Edom's treatment of Judah at the time of the Destruction to show its suffering upon any and every possible occasion. The fact that Edom is the cause of Moab's punishment and hence appears in the light of Judah's ally may have escaped the redactor. The reading *'açᵉmōth 'ādhām* (cf. I K. 13.2, II K. 23.14, 20) is proposed by several other investigators; Zenner in *Die Chorgesaenger im Buche d. Psalmen* (1896), proposed it first, while Hirscht reads: *'açᵉmōth 'ādhām lam-mōlekh lash-shēdh*. This suggestion, however, gives merely a prose line, and not a parallel couplet.

Lam-mōlekh is justified by numerous passages. Molech was
the God to whom the Israelites and the other nations sacrificed
by fire in the valley of Hinnom. It might be rightly protested,
however, that the God of the Moabites was not Molech, but
Chemosh; but no references of child sacrifice to the latter are
extant, and it is necessary to postulate sacrifice before Molech
by Moab in conjunction with the other peoples. References to
this sin on the part of Judah appear in II K. 23.10; Jer. 32.35,
with the words *he'ᵉbhīr bā-'ēsh*, "to pass through fire" (cf.
BDD, p. 718). A passage which may perhaps lie at the bottom
of the Amos phraseology occurs in Lev. 20.2, 3, 4; here occurs a
prohibition for the Israelites or any stranger to sacrifice children
to Molech; verses 3, 5, contain the phrases *hāmīth, wᵉ-hikhrattī*,
and *miq-qerebh 'ammām,* which show likenesses to expressions
used in Amos with regard to Moab. The Leviticus passage refers
to the sin of the individual, whereas the Prophet seems to expand
the punishment of death and complete extermination to the
nation.

The phrase *zābhaχ 'ādhām* seems to receive support from
Hos. 13.2, though the phrase therein used, *zōbhᵉχē 'ādhām,* is
doubtful (cf. BDB, p. 256); it has been translated as "men that
sacrifice" and as "sacrificers of mankind." Harper (p. 396)
wishes to substitute for the original Hosea lines the couplet:

> *'ādhām 'ᵃghālīm yishshāqūn*
> *'ām zōbhᵉχīm lash-shēdhīm.*

Here Hosea refers to the sin, not of any other nation, but of
Judah, and human sacrifice is supposed not to have existed in
Israel until a time much later than Hosea, namely around the
reign of Ahaz. But if the Hosea text is correct and can be
read "sacrificers of mankind," then it affords a basis for the
restoration of the Amos stichos; Moab may have been one of
the surrounding nations from which Judah learned the practice
of human sacrifice (cf. Deut. 18.10, 33.17; II K. 16.3).

The combination *zābhaχ lash-shēdh* is found in Ps. 106.37,
"and they sacrificed their sons and daughters to the *shēdhīm*
not-God." Hirscht suggests reading *lash-shᵉ̄dh;* though the two
passages quoted use it in the plural, as a synonym for Molech,

it is permissible to use it here in the singular (cf. BDB, p. 993).
It is uncertain whether *zābhaχ* in these two passages means sac-
rifice by fire or by slaughter (cf. Ps. 106.38 and Lev. 17.7; on
Deut. 32.17 see Driver on Deuteronomy, *ICC*, pp. 362–363).

The sense, then, of the passage as emended is that Moab is
to be punished for having indulged in sacrifice of human life
by fire.   If a general practice is alluded to, it must be confessed
that the reconstruction loses some point; it would seem strange
for Amos to predict doom for Moab because of one of its re-
ligious rites, unless it bore direct relation to Israel and unless
Israel was tainted by it.   If the passage have a specific applica-
tion, it may refer, despite the duration of time between the event
and the prophecy, to Moab's act of desecration in II K. 3.27.

The fourth section of stanza 6 contains two good parallelistic
couplets in agreement with the type stanza.   The first couplet
is almost perfect as it stands.   It deals with the idea of complete
national death in battle, a concept found in relation to Israel
in Hos. 13.1, Ez. 18.31, 33.11, and in relation to Moab in various
prophecies of its doom: Num. 21.29, Is. 16.7, Jer. 48.42 (cf.
also verses 2, 3, 8, 31, 46), and Zeph. 2.9.   A slight emendation
of the word *ū-mēth*, '' [Moab] shall die,'' to *wᵉ-hēmattī*, ''and
I shall kill [Moab]'' (cf. Is. 14.30, though not used of a nation),
brings the section into even closer conformance to the type
stanza; for in each there stands at the head of the fourth section
a form which makes it appear as if God himself were speaking
of his own act.   A second suggestion is to take *wᵉ-hikhrattī*
from the head of the second couplet of the section to the first
stichos of the first, and to transpose to its place *ū-mēth;* a third
suggestion is to place *wᵉ-hishmadhtī*, ''and I will destroy,'' at the
head of the section, to eliminate *wᵉ-hikhrattī* and to substitute
ū-mēth (see below).   The word *bᵉ-shā'ōn* is justifiable despite
suggestions made by several to change it; for even if the mean-
ing were doubtful, the parallelism would supply the sense (cf.
Hos. 10.14, Ps. 74.23; BDB, p. 981).   The phrase *bi-thᵉrū'ā
bᵉ-qōl shōphār* is entirely in place here, for *bi-thᵉrū'ā* in stanza 5
was omitted because of its correct usage here (cf. Jer. 4.19).

The second couplet also is in almost perfect form, despite several minor irregularities. The word *we-hikhrattī* is a repetition from stanza 2, see. 4; the use of the feminine suffix in *miq-qirbāh* needs explanation; here *sārèhā,* "her princes," is used, whereas in stanza 5 *sārāw,* "his princes," occurred; moreover *'immō* with the masculine suffix is present in the second stichos. It has already been suggested to read for *we-hikhrattī* the word *we-hishmadhtī.* In defense of the present phrase, the use of *we-nakhrīthennā,* "and let us cut her off," may be cited from Jer. 48.2. But *we-hishmadhtī* gives a slight variation which adds to the literary quality of the stichos. The root is used in conjunction with *kārath* and parallel to it in Ps. 37.38 and Is. 48.19; mostly of persons, however, as in Amos 9.8, 2.9; Deut. 1.27, 2.22 (cf. BDB, 1029); of Moab as a whole in Jer. 48.8, 42 (*nishmādh*); with *miq-qirbᵉkhem,* "from your midst," in Josh. 7.12 (cf. also Ezek. 14.9; Lev. 17.10, 20.3, 5, 6). The words *shōphet* and *sār* are parallel in Ex. 2.14; Zeph. 3.3 (where a couplet showing several likenesses to Amos appears); Prov. 8.16; Hos. 7.7, 13.10. In place of *miq-qirbāh* it is suggested to read *miq-qirbō* with the masculine suffix (cf. Is. 25.11); the feminine pronoun has been taken to refer to the land, although Wellhausen would change it to the masculine and refer it to "judge," to which also the word *'immō* refers.

The second stichos of the couplet is genuinely Amosian in character. The form *'ehrōgh* occurs in Amos 9.1 (cf. 4.10, 9.4), these being the only two biblical passages where it occurs. The word *sārèhā* follows perhaps the repeated mention of "the princes of Moab" (Num. 21.28, 22.8, etc.). Isaiah 24.12 expresses with reference to Edom a thought almost identical with the one mentioned here of Moab: "and all her princes shall be nothingness"; perhaps some relation between the two stichoi exists. The form *immō* occurs in Jer. 39.12, the only other instance of its use in prophetical literature. With reference to the doom of Moab, Jer. 48.7 has a couplet almost identical with Amos 1.15 on the Ammonites; Jeremiah may have been influenced by this couplet not only in his own prophecy on the Ammonites, but also in his oracle on Moab; or the couplet in

Jeremiah may have prompted a later scribe to insert a couplet in Amos suggesting it; it seems entirely in keeping with the evidence, however, to affirm the validity of the entire fourth section of the Amos oracle, and hence, for the most part, of the entire stanza, for it contains words and phrases used by him alone; its parallelism is good; its strophic structure, after slight emendations, conforms in detail to the type stanza.

<div align="center">Stanza 7.—Judah</div>

The stanza on Judah must be considered as late, for several reasons which Harper (p. 44) states: (a) the fact that the introduction of the oracle removes entirely the force of surprise which the Israelites were to feel when an attack was launched against them; (b) it is impossible to suppose that Amos would have treated Judah so cursorily; (c) the weakness of the style; (d) the term "Israel" in 2.10 includes Judah; (e) the sin described, transgressions against the statutes of Yahwè, was too indefinite to call for a special oracle; the offense is out of harmony with the formula "for their transgressions," etc., since it cannot be mentioned as one of three or four.

An argument of still greater force than these which Harper mentions, is the strophic structure of the stanza. It is identical with the stanza on Edom, i.e., $1 + 2 + 4 + 2$. It is also similar to stanza 3 on Tyre, though the second section here contains not two but four stichoi. The doubt thrown on these two stanzas attaches also to the oracle on Judah. The second section contains four lines, the first two of which form an apparently good parallelistic couplet while the second contains a relative clause (see above), the sense and grammar of the passage being doubtful. If the stanza is genuine, then it is necessary to omit two lines in order to make it agree with the model stanza, and to restore an entire fourth section of four lines, or to affirm that for some unaccountable reason the latter has disappeared; if on the other hand, the stanza is not genuine, as seems to be the case, then it is merely necessary to discuss its various phenomena, and to devote little attention to a reconstruction. It may be that stanza 4 and stanza 7 are by the same author.

The event referred to in the second section is doubtful.   The sin of Judah is apostasy, as the first couplet portrays; the second couplet may refer either to the activity of the false prophets, or to idolatry and apostasy also.   Though there were several kings before Amos who had been guilty of apostasy, during the time of the Prophet the kings Amaziah and Uzziah were on the whole righteous rulers, following in the path of Yahwism; it does not appear to have been such a period of national apostasy as would occasion a denunciation by Amos, though it may be admitted that at no time was the religious life of the nation so pure that an attack by a prophet was impossible.   But since no occasion of real note offers itself during the time of Amos, it is necessary to look elsewhere for material underlying the oracle.   The reign of Ahaz, immediately following the death of Amos, may have furnished the occasion for the first couplet, and the reign of Manasseh for the second.

The first couplet of the second section appears to refer to the reign of Ahaz and Hoshea (c. 721 B.C.).   In II K. 18.7ff. appears a long statement of the sins of the king of Israel which finally brought on the destruction of the Northern Kingdom. The reference to Judah occurs only in verses 19–22, but the language and the thought, though applying specifically to Israel, may have referred also to Judah.   Linguistic similarities in this passage to Amos are numerous, especially in verses 7, 8, 12, 13, 14, 15, 18.   The use of the sentence, "and they walked after vanity and did vainly" (verse 15), which appears also in Jer. 2.5, suggests a late origin for the passage.   The linguistic identities point to the possibility that the redactor wrote the second section of the oracle in Amos with a view to linking the prophecy with the events of the two great periods of national backsliding, namely, during the days of Ahaz, and of Manasseh (686–641 B.C).   It has been urged, too, that the language of the Amos passage is Deuteronomic in character.   During Josiah's reign (II Chron., chap. 34) the phrases present in Amos were frequently employed and may then have received currency; and this may lead to the impression that the passage on Judah was remodelled after the reign of Josiah (639–608 B.C.).   In

view of this fact, it may be said that the redactor of the
Judah prophecy may not have intended any specific era in
Judah's history, but merely compiled a list of sins from the
Deuteronomic code, sufficient to give the prophecy a semblance
of originality and authority. To find affinity between the lan-
guage of the passages referring to the reign of Ahaz and
Manasseh and the Amos phrases, then, would be far-fetched and
dangerous (cf. Is. 5.24, where almost the exact phraseology of
Amos occurs; this might point to the origin of the Amos couplet
around the time of Ahaz). The following conclusions on the
first couplet may, however, be offered: (a) either it refers to
the period of apostasy during the reign of Ahaz; this would
bring this redaction into harmony with the redaction of the other
doubtful stanzas; or (b) the prophecy was edited after the reign
of Josiah, and is of a general Deuteronomic character.

The second couplet is indubitably late. Harper regards it
as a gloss. The Septuagint's rendition gives this type of
appositional parallelism:

> And their lies led them astray which they did,
> After which their fathers walked.

The event referred to in the passage is doubtful. In II K.
21.1–9 and II Chron. 33.8 ff. there are accounts of the apostasy
of Manasseh of Judah, which show striking linguistic identities
with the Amos couplet. In verse 9 of each passage occurs the
phrase "and-led-astray Manasseh," *way-yath'ēm Menashshè* and
way-yetha' Menashshè 'eth-Yehūdhā; in II K. 21.10ff. is a record
of the activities of the prophets during the period of Manasseh;
they did not "go astray," but acted as the mouthpiece of Yahwè
(cf. Is. 34.11 and 28.17).

A closer examination of the language used offers further
evidence for the probable date of the passage. The word *tā'ā,*
"to err," appears in Hos. 4.12 with reference to idolatry;
Isaiah uses it, but merely in the sense of aimlessly wandering,
or walking. It refers best to the activities of false prophets
and may perhaps have been inserted in Amos by a later redactor
because of his own attitude towards the professional foretellers
(cf. 7.17). It is used of these false prophets in Micah 3.5;

Jeremiah, who is very bitter against them, uses it in his denunciation in 23.9–40; verse 13 has: "they prophesied in Baal and caused to err my people Israel" (*way-yath'ū*); verse 32 has: "and they caused to err my people by their falsehoods and by their lightness." This passage in the light of other similarities may be the foundation of the couplet in Amos; Ezek., chap. 13, also furnishes data for the interpretation of the passage as applicable to the false prophets.

Upon the interpretation of the word *kiz^ebhēhem* will depend in large degree the construction of the couplet. To understand the word as "idols" is entirely unsatisfactory; in no other instance does the idea of idols "leading astray" occur; it is usually a person, not an inanimate thing, that is responsible for the error. If it is desired to make the stichos refer to idols in order to create a sort of conformity with the second stichos, it is necessary either to insert an entire new line or to add certain words which will make the stichos specify definitely idols; for two probabilities exist: (a) either stichos 1 of this couplet must be brought into correct relationship to stichos 2; this would necessitate the omission of the present first stichos, or an emendation to include definitely the word or idea of "idols"; (b) or the first stichos must be taken to refer to false prophets, as almost all the passages demand that it should be interpreted; this will necessitate the emendation of the second stichos to bring it into relation with the first and in order to produce a couplet in good parallelism.

Emendations on the basis of the idea of "idolatry" are numerous:

> 1. And the seers of lies led them astray to Baals,
>   After which their fathers walked.
>   *way-yath'ūm qōs^emē khāzābh lab-b^{e'}ālīm*
>   *'^asher hāl^ekhū '^abhōthām 'aχ^arēhem.*

For the phrase *qōs^emē khāzābh* or *χōzē khāzābh*, "dreamers of lies," see Ezek. 13.8. Except for the ambiguity concerning the subject of the verb in the first stichos, the following suggestions might be acceptable:

> 2. And they led astray by their lies the people,
>   And after other gods they walked.

The form b^e-$khiz^ebh\bar{e}hem$, "by their lies," is sanctioned by a similar usage though with different synonyms in Jer. 23.32. For the phrase "to lead astray the people," see Is. 9.14–15; Mic. 3.5; Ezek. 13.19; Jer. 23.13, 32; Is. 3.12. A comparison of this prophecy in Amos with Ezek., chap. 20, *passim*, and with Jer. 16.11 ff., and Jer. 9.12–16 shows the most striking similarities between them all, and gives further substantiation for the thought that the Amos passage is not genuine. The form of Jer. 9.12–16 is almost identical with the Amos strophic structure; the identity of the language also points to an interplay of influence. Any of these passages may serve as a basis for the reconstruction of the doubtful Amos verses.

Emendations based especially upon the idea of false prophets can find their foundation in the various denunciations: Jer. 14.14ff., 29.8–10, 23.9–40; Ezek. 13.1ff., .14.9–11; Mic. 3.5ff., and elsewhere. This of course implies that the Amos passage is late; the emendations are suggested merely to clarify the idea set down by the later redactor:

> 3. And the prophets by their lying led them astray,
>   Those who walk after their own spirit.
>   *way-yath'ūm b^e-khazz^ebhām han-n^ebhī'īm*
>   *'asher hāl^ekhū 'axar rūxām.*

The idea of false prophets as those who walk after their own spirit and devices is found in Mic. 2.11, in Jer. 23.17, 18, 26, etc.; the exact phrase here used in the second stichos is present in Ezek. 13.2. Variations on this emendation are numerous, depending on the substitution of various possible formations in the first stichos.

The following conclusions on the Judah oracle may then be made: (1) The prophecy may have been inserted in part during the reign of Ahaz or slightly after; this would link it with the redaction of the other stanzas. (2) A second and later redaction may have been made after the reign of Manasseh, with a view of reference to the apostasies of his time; this edition may have appeared during the reign of Josiah, after the activities of Jeremiah. (3) Or the prophecy may have been inserted for the first time after the Exile in 586 B.C. to explain the cause of Judah's overthrow; this might imply a redaction on the basis

of the preceding prophets and particularly of Ezekiel. (4)
Or it may be that though the oracle was composed in some form
at an earlier time, it obtained admission into the text after the
Exile; it seems almost certain that an edition was made in post-
exilic times.

Stanza 8.—Israel

The stanza on Israel, apparently the climax to which Amos
has been leading, begins in conformance with the other stanzas;
the prophetic prelude and the introductory formula occur as
elsewhere in the Song; the opening word of what should be the
second section is 'al with an infinitive plus the plural suffix; a
couplet in good parallelism seems to indicate that the stanza
will conform to the type. But then the break comes; parallel-
ism is maintained, but the prophecy continues in the strain of
denunciation for several couplets; the offense of social injustice
is elaborated; the punishment formula couplet is entirely miss-
ing, as well as the fourth section and postlude. Thus its strophic
structure is seen to depart entirely from the type stanza.

Several questions arise. Did Amos deliver the prophecies
on the nations at one and the same time, beginning with the
foreign nations of Syria, Philistia, the Ammonites, and Moab,
and finally proclaim the sins of Israel? If so, was the stanza
on Israel originally composed in agreement with the model
stanza? Or did the Prophet merely use the introductory pre-
lude and formula to link this prophecy on Israel with the others,
and then launch into a spirited attack wherein his prophetic
mood would have free play, unbound by the demands of exact
regularity?

On the other hand it may be asked: Did Amos deliver the
prophecies separately, each at a different time and on a different
occasion? This would imply that at some future date he edited
the entire series, having used the stanza structure in each, but
remodelling them in the form of one continuous piece. Or did
Amos deliver merely the prophecies on the surrounding nations
at one time, while the oracle on Israel came at a later date?
This supposition seems plausible. The stanzas on the neighbor-

ing peoples may constitute one poetic unit, while the oracle on Israel is either in itself intact, or the compilation of several pronouncements. Amos himself in his own edition may have inserted the introductory phrase and formula in order to add psychological weight to the denunciation, and to make it appear one of a series of which it is the climax. Or, as seems more credible, a later editor, reviewing the entire text, and making the additions on Tyre, Edom and Judah, may have sought to join Israel to the Doom Song, and hence placed at the head of a group of prophetic utterances the identifying prelude and formula. This tendency to include all the nations in the list of doomed peoples may have been stimulated and encouraged by the practice of the later Prophets, who denounced the surrounding nations and at the same time their own; a later redactor seeing the texts of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Isaiah in the form of one continuous work, may have turned back to Amos and noting the presence of a list of doom songs, brought them by modifications and additions into line with the plan of these later prophets. This would further support the hypothesis that the most important redaction of the Amos text, or at least, of a part of it, occurred after the edition of the works of Ezekiel, or probably even later.

Hence the apparent discrepancy of the oracle on Israel need not disturb the belief in a type stanza. For the utterance falls entirely outside the discussion concerning a model formation because of its own intrinsic peculiariaties. The existence of a type stanza still remains a strong hypothesis.

DATE OF THE PROPHECY

The internal evidences of the date of the Doom Song are of course not entirely trustworthy; as they stand, however, the following data have been gathered:

Stanza 1. Stichoi b, c, and possibly d of section 4 appear to be later insertions after 721 B.C.

Stanza 2. The second section of this stanza points to the fact that the text was retouched either (1) after 721 B.C.; (2) after the appearance of the prophecies of Jeremiah (c. 600 B.C.);

(3) after the appearance of the prophecies of Ezekiel in post-exilic days; there is a slight possibility of another redaction around 350 B.C. The fourth section shows evidence of redaction in the light of the Ezekiel passages in post-exilic days, with a possibility of another redaction around 350 B.C.

Stanza 3. This stanza may have been introduced and re-edited (1) after 721 B.C.; (2) after 570 B.C., on the basis of material in Ezekiel. Another redaction took place perhaps around 350 B.C.

Stanza 4. This prophecy may have been introduced by Amos and reëdited (1) after 721 B.C.; (2) after the prophecies of Jeremiah (c. 600 B.C.); (3) most probably in post-exilic times after 586 B.C. There is a probability of another redaction around 350 B.C. (time of Nehemiah).

Stanza 5. The stanza may have been retouched (1) after 721 B.C. (second section); (2) after the prophecies of Jeremiah (c. 600 2.3.). Another redaction is probable after the Exile.

Stanza 6. This prophecy is genuine and may have been retouched after 600 B.C.

Stanza 7. This oracle may have been inserted into Amos and reëdited (1) after 721 B.C.; (2) after the time of Manasseh and the prophecies of Jeremiah (c. 600 B.C.); (3) after the writings of Ezekiel, in post-exilic days (i.e., after 570 B.C.).

A summary of this evidence gained in each instance from independent investigation of each unit is as follows:

1. Parts of stanzas 1, 2, 5, 6 are genuine; these include the formulas and other material mentioned above. This was in all probability the work of Amos, perhaps around 755 B.C.

2. The first redaction of the prophecy was made after the fall of Samaria, around the period between 721 and 700 B.C.; revisions and insertions were made.

3. Another redaction took place, perhaps during the days of Manasseh, or later after the prophecies of Jeremiah (c. 600 B.C.).

4. Another redaction appears to have been made after the Destruction, under the influence of Ezekiel's works (c. 570 B.C.).

5. There is a slight probability of another minor revision around 350 B.C.

It is thus evident that many hands went into the formation of the text which has come down to the present day. Houtsma is surely mistaken in ascribing the entire prophecy to post-exilic times; the degree to which his surmise seems to be correct can be seen from the tables here given.

CONCLUSIONS ON THE DOOM SONG

In the light of the evidence deduced from an examination of the Amos Doom Song, the following tentative conclusions may be proposed:

1. There is a type stanza consisting of $1 + 2 + 2 + 2 + 4 + 1$ periods. There are four main sections, the first on the general offense which remains constant; the second on the specific offense which varies with each nation; the third on the general punishment which remains constant; the fourth, consisting of two couplets, on the specific punishment which varies with each nation. There are a short prophetic prelude and postlude which remain constant.

2. Four stanzas of the Song conform to this type, namely: stanza 1 on Syria; stanza 2 on Philistia; stanza 5 on the Ammonites; stanza 6 on Moab. The variations within these four type stanzas are of a minor character and are due either to corruptions of the text through the passage of time and frequent redactions or to the insertion and addition of stichoi and phrases by later editors who sought to bring the text of the prophecies up to date; there are several slight variations of phrase due to the interplay and influence of other texts in the prophetical and historical books; there are minor variations due either to the whim or carelessness of the original or later author and redactor.

3. Three stanzas do not conform to the type, namely: stanza 3 on Tyre; stanza 4 on Edom; stanza 7 on Judah. These are the major variations of the Song and may be explained as later insertions and additions, either to bring the prophecy of Amos up to date, to complete the series of oracles in the light of the works of the later Prophets, or to give vent to the hostility against nations which during the time of the redaction or slightly

before had mistreated Israel and Judah.   Since these portions
are not original with Amos, they do not affect the conclusion
that the genuine oracles of Amos were in the form of the model
stanza.

4. The couplet structure prevails throughout the entire re-
constructed poem in complete regularity.   It has been found
that where the couplet formation is broken, vagueness of idea,
corruption of text, and general confusion are present.   The
reformation of the stichoi on the basis of parallelism elim-
inates the difficulties; though the couplet formation is demanded,
synonymity of exact order between the stichoi has not always
been possible; however, an arrangement merely on the basis of
rhythmical symmetry or of a distant synthetic character has
been avoided.   The reconstructed couplets show regular and
fairly close parallelism of terms, as well as of ideas.

It may now be asked in the light of the results attained from
a discussion of the Grief Song, the two pairs of Visions, and the
Doom Song: If a regular type stanza, comparable in many re-
spects to the normality of stanza present in modern poems, is
present, to what degree is the same *motif* used in the other
prophetical books?   The methods applied to Amos fit also the
study of the portions of seemingly strophic regularity in Isaiah
5.26–29, 9.7–10.4 (see Gray, *ICC*, p. 177ff.); Ezekiel 25.1–17
and parts of Jeremiah.   There it will be found that the same
phenomena are to large extent present, though the poem in
Amos, chaps. 1–2, is unique for its persistent interparallelism.

CLASSIFICATION AND TABLES

Two major problems will find attempted answers in the following tables based on an investigation of the book of Amos. These are: (1) the boundaries of prose and poetry and their interplay; (2) the character, value and place of monostichs in prophetic literature. The classifications here given are by no means entirely accurate, for several instances seem to demand listing under more than one category; it has been necessary, however, to select the dominant trait of the stichoi and to classify these accordingly.

The unit for these tables has been the "period," which signifies a clearly marked division in the thought, regardless of rhythmical, metrical or any similar considerations. Although the period thus is the basis of this classification, yet in the second part of the table, the grouping of the stichoi into couplets has been kept in mind. Excluding the introductory and closing prophetic phrases, such as "thus saith the Lord," "it is the oracle of Yahwè," etc., which appear to stand outside the major portion of the text,[232] the following is the number of periods in each chapter:

Chapter	1	47
Chapter	2	49
Chapter	3	43
Chapter	4	41
Chapter	5	71
Chapter	6	37
Chapter	7	48
Chapter	8	42
Chapter	9	58
Total		436

---

[232] The prelude and postlude prophetic phrases: "Thus saith the Lord," "and Yahwè spoke," and numerous others occur in the form of single lines mainly, and occasionally in the form of a distich. There are about fifty-five periods of prelude phrases, and twenty-four periods of postlude. Of the former about eighteen are in the form of distichs between which no synonymity of course is present, but which may be guided by some rhythmical principle. This is very doubtful, however, and it is best to conclude of both single stichoi and distichs that they have little or no value in the schematic arrangement of the text; they are neutral in point of content and tone-accent.

The terms which are employed in the tables need explana-
tion. ''Genuine'' parallelism includes those stichoi in parallel
couplets which are parallel as they stand, though sometimes a
slight textual change is necessary. Usually the style of these
stichoi is synonymous or antithetic parallelism; the number of
terms is dominantly three, though in the examples of alternate
parallelism (in the table each stichos of alternate parallelism
counts as two periods), more than three terms are present. The
term ''synthetic'' parallelism is used to designate the parallel
stichoi which are not in close synonymous parallelism, but which
are rhythmically symmetrical and in a complementary or appo-
sitional relationship. Such synthetic couplets are called here
''clear'' when close thought approximation is present and the
text is unmarred though correspondence of terms may be lack-
ing; ''doubtful'' designates those stichoi wherein parallelism
seems to be concealed while merely rhythmical equality appears
and the existing text is obscure in sense and grammar. Under

TABLE 1.—PARALLELISTIC POETRY

	GENUINE	SYNTHETIC				
		Clear	Doubtful	'Asher	Le-ma'an	Hā-'ōmerīm
Chapter 1	36	....	4	....	2	....
Chapter 2	34	....	2	2	2	....
Chapter 3	29	....	4	....	....	....
Chapter 4	16	4	6	....	....	....
Chapter 5	42	6	4	....	2	....
Chapter 6	24	2	2	....	....	2
Chapter 7	20	....	4	....	....	....
Chapter 8	24	....	10	....	....	....
Chapter 9	30	2	6	....	....	2
	255	14	42	2	6	4

Grand total 323

Normal parallelism (genuine and clear syn-
thetic 269

Irregular parallelism 54

TABLE 2.—SHEER PROSE

Superscription 1.1
Narrative 6.9–10

the heading ''synthetic'' are included also the ''in order that,'' the ''that-say'' and the relative clauses discussed above.   It must be noted, then, that the term ''synthetic'' includes stichoi which only by the slightest degree may be included under parallelism; which, in fact, were they not surrounded by parallelistic couplets, would not be considered parallel any more than similar distichs are in modern poetry.   Though these couplets are clearly poetry by reason of their elevation of language, their imagery and when measured by other canons, yet they stand in the twilight zone between parallelistic and non-parallelistic poetry, and incline more to the latter than to the former division.

Table 3.—Twilight Zone Between Prose and Poetry

This table includes those stichoi which are in the middle ground between prose and poetry.   The category ''mixture'' designates the verse wherein prose and parallelistic formations are combined; there are two cases where *ka-'asher* is used, and the style becomes doubtful; there are several ''traditional'' expressions which may have been conventional with the prophetic schools; finally there is the Hebrew prototype for the *saj'* of the Arabic; here there are two classes, the first, which is non-synonymous, and the second, which is startlingly synonymous; rhyme, of course, is missing.   All these lines are extra long and have not the terseness and three-term structure of the usual poetic parallelism.

	Traditional	Ka-'asher	Mixture	Saj' Non-synonymous	Synonymous
Chapter 2	2	2	....	....	....
Chapter 6	6	....	....	....	2
Chapter 4	....	....	4	....	....
Chapter 5	2	....	....	....	4
Chapter 7	....	....	....	2	....
Chapter 9	4	3	....	....	4
	14	5	4	2	10

Table 4.—Monostichs

Another table is necessary in a consideration of the twilight zone between prose and poetry in order to show the character and value of the various isolated stichoi which are present in Amos. A group comes more properly within the domain of poetry proper, i.e., the stichoi which appear to be "survivals" of original couplets; the stichoi which are remnants of couplets but which are now in "triplets" differ slightly from the former category in that the cases there included will be found to be separate sections of the Doom Song. Single stichoi make up "refrains" in poems where interparallelism is present, and certain "introductory" stichoi in interparallelistic stanzas likewise are minus complementary stichoi. Near-prose material includes the "prophetic," and the "traditional" and "narrative" stichoi.

POETRY

	Survivals	Triplets	Refrains	Introductory
Chapter 1	4	....	....	....
Chapter 2	1	1	....	....
Chapter 3	....	2	....	....
Chapter 4	....	....	5	3
Chapter 5	....	6	....	....
Chapter 6	....	2	....	....
Chapter 7	....	2	8	....
Chapter 8	....	3	....	....
Chapter 9	....	4	....	....
	5	20	13	3

NEAR-PROSE

	Prophetic	Traditional	Narrative
Chapter 1	....	....	....
Chapter 2	1	2	....
Chapter 3	....	....	....
Chapter 4	2	....	1
Chapter 5	5	1	1
Chapter 6	1	....	2
Chapter 7	....	....	12
Chapter 8	3	....	2
Chapter 9	2	....	1
	14	3	19

CONCLUSIONS

The following conclusions with respect to the two problems referred to above can thus be drawn:

Sheer prose in Amos is very rare, the only two pieces which maintain it over any stretch being the superscription and a doubtful narrative portion.

Genuine parallelistic stichoi predominate, being found to the extent of nearly five-sixths of the instances. Between these two poles there are many grades of poetry verging into prose by ascending degrees. The so-called synthetic couplets contain clear stichoi in a rhythmical, symmetrical, but non-correspondent relationship. Doubtful synthetic couplets embrace those in a rhythmical arrangement wherein the text is doubtful, and at times the degree of unity of thought between the two stichoi is weak. Several special forms, relative, conjunctival, and quotational, fall within this category; they are undoubtedly poetical but have lost their parallelism.

The twilight zone between prose and poetry contains various shades of parallelism and non-parallelism. Traditional conventional phrases are grouped in rhythmical couplets wherein synonymity is lacking; simile couplets are employed, headed in one stichos by the conjunction ''just as,'' wherein a prosaic style is noticeable; a mixture of prose and parallelistic poetry is found in rare instances. Finally close to prose, is a *saj'* form which either occurs without synonymity but with a certain rhythmical balance; or, as in the Arabic, is marked by synonymity and fairly close correspondence of terms. All these lines are long; some are a form and an outgrowth of alternate parallelism. These are fruitful examples for an investigation into the rhythmical principles back of Hebrew poetry and prose. It would seem also from the synonymous and correspondent character of the *saj'* illustrations that parallelism marks not merely the terse bona fide poetry, but also the near-prose of Hebrew. In addition it may be that herein is to be found the third type of Hebrew prosody which Gray seeks, but does not find, in his analysis (see *Forms*, p. 46; also above, p. 109).

On the problem of the relation of couplets to triplets and monostichs, the following conclusions seem justifiable:

The couplet is the dominant structure of Hebrew poetry. Amos has at least 127 couplets of genuine parallelism, seven of clear synthetic, twenty-one doubtful, and six irregular; there are, however, only about twenty possible triplets, nearly every one of which is marred and caused by a dubious text. If the triplet is admissible, then its frequency and originality must be hesitatingly accepted; careful investigation is necessary for each case.

The disposition of isolated monostichs supports this conclusion. Twenty-five stichoi in Amos appear to be either survivals of corrupted couplets, or interpolations attached to good couplets. In the field of poetry, introductory stichoi head stanzas of a strophic poem and lack a complementary stichos. because, perhaps, of their interparallelism with the corresponding stichoi of the other stanzas. The same is true of refrains which though a single line are interparallelistic with reference to the same stichos in the other stanzas. These fall therefore in a sense within the realm of parallelistic poetry.

A group of single stichoi, however, seems to fall outside of the poetry proper; these are the narrative stichoi which sometimes are interparallelistic with corresponding stichoi of other stanzas, but usually are purely prosaic or near-prosaic in character; sometimes it is possible to combine two such stichoi into a rhythmical distich, though this is unusual. Several traditional stichoi accompany the traditional distichs referred to above; these are not entirely prosaic, but lie within the intermediate territory between prose and poetry. The same applies to a series of prophetic ejaculations and phrases which occur at intervals, irregular and unconstant, throughout the text.

The reasons for the departure from regular couplet structure are difficult to understand. That the Prophet was not content merely to maintain strict poetic symmetry throughout his work is evident, if the present text is to be trusted. It has been frequently observed in the discussion that a break in the parallelism is usually accompanied by a break in the text and

vice versa. Yet this does not account for the several cases where the Prophet deliberately departs from the balanced couplet formations. Traditional prophetic formulas, historical conventional references, ejaculations and other devices sometimes account for a breakdown of the parallelism, though all the cases cannot thus be explained. The method and the psychology of prophetical utterance is as yet little understood. Perhaps if the original text were in existence, exact parallelism would be discovered; it is safer, however, to assume on the basis of the data available that the Prophet followed generally the poetical canons of parallelism, but that he permitted himself sometimes under the influence of other poetical or rhetorical laws, but sometimes apparently unbound and unguided except by his inner impulses, to roam into the realm of near-prose, of prose, and of unparallelistic poetry and parallelistic prose. It is imperative that we should examine prophetical literature on the basis of the hypothesis that behind every divergence from regularity of style a rhetorical law has operated; thus it will be possible to combine and classify the data; in the end, however, a residue of examples will probably remain which cannot be fully understood; therein in Hebrew, as in all other literatures, the mystery will rest; for one of the secrets of the strength of Hebrew prophecy may be in the fact that not all its phenomena can be pigeonholed.

INDEX OF VERSES IN AMOS

* Verses marked with an asterisk belong by classification on the pages cited, though not specifically mentioned there.

[265]

PART II.

PARALLELISM IN ISAIAH,
CHAPTERS 1-10

PARALLELISM IN ISAIAH, CHAPS. 1-10

BY

WILLIAM POPPER

* The verses are translated in the following order: 12, 15, 16cd, 13, 16ab, 16ef, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 18ab, 17, 18c, 19c, 19ab, 20.

† The verses are translated in the following order: 16, 18bc, 17, 18a, 19.

TRANSLATION OF THE RECONSTRUCTED TEXT

ISRAEL REBELLIOUS

I

Hear, Oh ye Heavens,   CHAPTER 1
Give ear, Oh thou earth,
    For it is the Lord that speaks: (2abc)

Sons have I reared,
Daughters have I brought up—
    But against me they rebel.   (2de)

An ox knoweth its owner,
An ass its master's crib—
    Israel doth not know,
    My people doth not take heed.   (3abcd)

Ah! nation of sin!
Race laden with wrong!
Seed that breedeth evil!
Children bent on crime!   (4abcd)

    They have forsaken the Lord,
    They have contemned the Holy of Israel,
    They are estranged from Him,
    They have turned back.   (4abxc)

Why would ye be smitten more,
And to your anguish add?   (5a)

    All the flesh is sore,
    All the heart is faint,
From head to sole of foot no spot is sound—   (5bc, 6a)

      Bruise,
      And stripe,
    And bleeding wound,   (6b)

      Unclosed,
      Unbound,
    Unsoftened with ointment: (6c)

    Your country lies waste,
    Your cities are burnt with fire,
Your land is eaten by strangers before your eyes;   (7abc[1])

And Zion's daughter is left like a booth in a vineyard,
    Like a hut in a cucumber-field,
    Like the tower of a watchman.   (8abc[2])

---

[1] For verse 7d see p. 298.   [2] For verse 9 see 299.

II

Hear ye the word of the Lord, ye Princes—of Sodom!
Give ear to the law of our God, ye people—of Gomorrah!
<div align="right">(10ab)</div>

    What is it to me that ye come to see my face?
    Who asked this of you, that ye tread my courts?
<div align="right">(11a, 12a, 12b)</div>

    I delight not in your many sacrifices,
    I am sated with your offerings of rams,
        With the fat of fatlings,
        With the blood of bulls,
        With lambs and with goats;   (11bc)

    Bring no more oblations,
    Incense to me is abomination;   (13ab)

    I cannot suffer Sabbath and New Moon,
    The calling of convocation and assembly;
    Your festivals and sacred seasons my soul doth loathe,
        They are to me a burden,
        I am weary of bearing them;   (13c–14)

    Yea, when ye spread your palms,
        I will hide mine eyes from you
    And though ye multiply prayer,
        I will not hear—   (15ab)

    Your hands are full of blood!
    Your lips are defiled with lies!   (15cx)

        Wash you!
        Cleanse you!   (16ab[3])

    Cease to do wrong!
    Learn to do right!   (16d, 17a)

    Seek after justice!
    Put away violence!   (17bc)

    Champion the orphan!
    Plead for the widow!   (17de)

Come now, let us reason together, saith the Lord:
    If your sins are now like scarlet,
        Like snow shall they be white,
    If they are red as crimson,
        They shall be like wool:
    If ye are willing and will hearken,

---

[3] For verse 16c see p. 304.

The earth's good shall ye eat;
If ye refuse and are rebellious,
Of the sword shall ye be eaten:
For the mouth of the Lord hath spoken.   (18–20)

THE CITY OF FAITHFULNESS

How hath become like a harlot the City of Faithfulness,
She full of justice,
In whom lodged righteousness!   (21abc)

Thy silver is turned to dross,
Thy wine with water is mixed: (22ab)

Thy rulers are ruleless,
A band of robbers,
A murderers' crew: (23ab, 21d)

Each one loveth bribes,
And seeketh after boons: (23cd)

The orphan they right not,
And widow's cause comes not before them.   (23ef)

Therefore saith the Lord,
The Lord of Hosts,
The Mighty of Israel: (24a)

Ah! I shall avenge me of mine enemies,
And take vengeance of mine adversaries;   (24bc)

And I shall turn my hand upon thee,
In the furnace smelt the dross of thee,
And take away all the alloy of thee;   (25)

And I shall establish thy judges as of old,
And thy counsellors as of ancient time: (26ab)

Then shalt thou once more be called Fortress of Righteousness,
City of Faithfulness.   (26cd)

CHAPTER 1

THE GROVES OF IDOLATRY

Through justice shall Zion be saved,
Through righteousness, her people;   (27ab)

And sinners shall cease,
And transgressors abstain,
And deserters of the Lord be no more.   (28ab)

For ashamed shall ye be of the oaks ye have loved,
Ye shall blush for the gardens ye chose,   (29ab)

When they shall be like oaks with withering leaves,
Like gardens whose waters have failed,   (30ab)

And the sturdy oak shall be turned into flax,
And its branches into flames,
At once together shall they burn,
AND NONE SHALL QUENCH.   (31ab)

CHAPTER 2

THE ARBITER OF THE NATIONS

And it shall be at the end of time that
The mount of the Lord shall be fixed as the first of the mountains,
And be exalted above the hills;   (2ab)

Thereto all the nations shall stream,
And many peoples shall flow, *saying:*   (2ab)

"Come let us climb to the mount of the Lord,
To the house of Jacob's God,   (3bc)

"That he may teach us of his ways,
That we may follow in his paths;   (3de)

"For from Zion instruction goeth forth,
From Jerusalem the word of the Lord;   (3fg)

"Between the nations shall he judge,
Among many peoples arbitrate;   (4ab)

"And they shall beat their swords to plough-shares,
And their spears to pruning-hooks;   (4cd)

"Nation shall not raise the sword to nation,
Neither shall they learn again to war"—   (4ef)

Come, then, O house of Jacob, let us walk in the light of the Lord,
For thou, O house of Jacob, hast forsaken thy God.   (5, 6a)

THE LORD ALONE IS EXALTED

I

Crawl 'mid the cliffs!
Burrow in the dust!

From before the fear of the Lord,
And the awe of his majesty.
As He rises the earth to affright.   (10abcdx)

Let mortals crouch,
Let man bend low—
Be the Lord alone exalted, ON THAT DAY.   (9abx)

For man has filled the land with the luxury of Philistia,
He is glutted with the ornaments of strangers;   (6bc)

And his land is filled with silver and gold,
To the count of his treasures there is no end;   (7ab)

And his land is filled with horses,
To the count of his chariots there is no end;   (7cd)

And his land is filled with images,
To the count of his idols there is no end;   (8ax)

He worships his own handiwork,
The work that his fingers have wrought.   (8bc)

II

Hide in the caves of the cliffs
And in the caverns of the ground!

From before the fear of the Lord,
And the awe of his majesty,
As he rises the earth to affright.   (19abcde)

And man's pride shall be humbled,
And mortal haughtiness brought low,
And the Lord alone exalted, ON THAT DAY.   (11)

For the Lord of Hosts hath A DAY for all exalted and high,
And all that is lofty and proud;   (12ab)

And all Lebanon's cedars,
And all Bashan's oaks;   (13ab)

CHAPTER 2

And all the mountains high,
And all the lofty hills;   (14ab)

And all the towers tall,
And all the towering walls; _   (15ab)

And all the Tarshish ships,
And all the majestic barks.   (16ax)

III

Crawl in the rifts of the rocks,
And in the clefts of the cliffs,

From before the fear of the Lord,
And the awe of his majesty,
As he rises the earth to affright.   (21)

And man's pride shall be humbled,
And mortals' haughtiness brought low,
And the Lord alone exalted, ON THAT DAY.   (17abc)

And ON THAT DAY shall man fling forth his idols of silver
        And his idols of gold,   (20ab)

            The work of his hands,
            What he wrought to adore,   (20c)

            The talismans treasured,
            The amulets dear,   (16b, 18?)

            The scarabs of beetles,
            The carvings of bats.   (20de⁴)

            .   .   .   .
            .   .   .   .

            .   .   .   .
            .   .   .   .

---

⁴ For verse 22 see p. 328.

THE RULERS OF ISRAEL

For lo! the Lord, the Lord of Hosts, will remove
    [from Jerusalem the staff
    And from Judah, the stave,   (1)

    Strong man and warrior,
    Prophet and judge,
    Counselor and elder,
    Notable and prince,
    Necromancer and diviner,
    Man wise in magic and expert in charms;   (2, 3)

    And youths will he set as their rulers,
    By childishness shall they be swayed;   (4)

And the people shall press man upon man,
    And each upon his neighbor,
And they shall rush, the young upon the old,
    The humble upon the honored;
Yea, they shall seize each man his brother,
    Even the son his sire: (5–6a)

    "Come be thou ruler over us—
    This ruin be under thy hand."   (6bc)

And on that day he shall answer, saying:

    "I cannot be restorer:
        In my house no bread,
        Nor any clothes—
    Make me not the nation's ruler."   (7)

    Yea, Jerusalem is ruined,
    And Judah is fallen: (8ab)

For their tongues have been perverse toward the Lord,
And their eyes against his glory have rebelled;
The insolence of their faces is witness against them,
Their sin like Sodom have they told,
Like Gomorrah, they have not hid—   (8c–9b)

Wo to their souls! for to themselves have they dealt ill,
And the fruit of their deeds they shall eat.   (9c, 10b[5])

    My people—its leaders are childish,
    And women over them rule—

---

[5] For verses 10a, 11, see p. 337.

Chapter 3

My people! thy guides are misguiding,
The course of thy paths they confound. (12)

For trial the Lord doth stand,
    He rises to judge his people:
— The Lord enters into judgment,
    With his people's elders and princes: (13a–14b)

"And ye—ye have stripped the vineyard,
In your homes is the plunder of grapes—
What mean ye by crushing my people,
By grinding the face of the poor?" (14c–15)

Oracle of my Lord, the Lord of Hosts.

THE VANITY OF THE DAUGHTERS OF ZION

And the Lord hath said: (16a)
Because that the daughters of Zion are vain,
    Bending of neck,
    And ogling of eye,
While they walk with tripping gait,
    And they sway upon their feet, (16cdef)

The Lord will strip the heads of Zion's daughters,
The Lord their buttocks will lay bare; (17)

And on that day the Lord will remove the glory of their
    [sunlets and their moonlets
    Their pendants and their chains,
    Their veils and their turbans,
    Their armlets and their bands,
    Their finger-rings and their nose-rings,
    Their amulets and their charms,
    Their purses and their mirrors,
    Their tunics and their robes,
    Their mantles and their cloaks,
    Their hoods and their veils; (18–23)

And there shall be in place of balsam, dust,
In place of girdle, a rope,
In place of braids, baldness,
In place of garments of joy, a girding of sack—
    Tears, in place of beauty. (24)

Thy men shall fall by the sword,
And thy strength, in war—   (25)

Yea, her gates shall mourn,
And her doorways lament,
And desolate shall she sit on the ground.   (26)

Chapter 4

And seven women shall seize on that day one man and say,

"Our bread will we eat,
Our own clothes will we wear—
    But let us be called by thy name,
    Put an end to our shame."   (4.1)

THE CLEANSING STORM

And on that day
The flowers of the field shall be splendid in beauty,
And the trees of the land be glorious in majesty   .
    For the saved in Israel,
    For those destined to life in Judah;   (2abc, 3d)

And the remnant in Zion
And they that are left in Jerusalem
    Shall "Holy" be called,
    "God's People" be named.   (3abcx)

When the Lord shall have washed away the filth of Zion,
And from Jerusalem shall have rinsed away the blood,
    With a storm flood of rain,
    And a burning wind: (4)

The Lord will create over all of Zion's mountain
And over all her sacred site,
    A cloud of smoke by day,
    And the light of a flaming fire by night;   (5a–d)

Yea, his glory shall cover all of her,
And a canopy o'er her shall there be,
    As a shadow from the heat,
    And as a covert from the storm.   (5e–6)

THE VINEYARD

Let me sing now of my beloved,
    Of my vineyard, a song of love: (1a, b)

A vineyard had I as beloved,
    Fertile, on a hill.   (1cd)

And I dug it,
And I cleared it,
In it planted choicest vines;
In its midst I built a tower,
And in it hewed a vat: (2a–e)

Then I hoped it would yield me grapes,
    But it yielded—galls.   (2fg)

And now, Jerusalem's dwellers,
    And Judah's men,
Judge, I pray, between me
    And between my vineyard: (3)

What for my vineyard could I have done
    That I left undone?
Why did I hope it would yield me grapes
    And it yielded galls?   (4)

Well, then, let me answer to you—
    What to my vineyard I'll do: (5ab)

Destroy its hedge
    That it be ruined,
Break its wall
    That it be crushed;   (5cd)
And I shall make it a thicket—
    It shall be unpruned,
And thistles and thorns shall spring up—
    It shall be unhoed;
And the clouds shall I charge,
    Lest they rain there any rain.   (6)

But the vineyard of the Lord
    Is Israel's house
And the people of Judah
    Are his cherished vine,   (7ab)

And he hoped for equity,
    But behold, iniquity!
And for righteousness,
    But behold, frightfulness!   (7cd)

WO TO THE GODLESS

I

Wo! those who add house unto house,
Who field unto field do join,

That there be no place for neighbors,
And they dwell alone in the land:　　　　　　　(8)

Verily, their many houses shall lie ruined,
Without dwellers, the goodly and great;

For an acre of vineyard shall yield but one gallon,
And a peck of grain, but a quart.　　　　　(9, 10)

II

Wo! those who rise early, pursuing strong drink,[6]
Who tarry in twilight, spurred on by wine;

Whose revels are noisy with viol and harp,
Who feast to the din of the timbrel and flute:　(11, 12a[7])

Therefore, doth Hell with greediness gape,
And unending wide her mouth doth ope,

And down shall go their splendor and noise,
And there their din be swallowed up.　　　　(14[8])·

III

Wo! those who drag sin with ropes of wrong,
And guilt, with cords of evil;

Who say: "Let hasten, let hurry, His work, let us see!
Bring on, Bring in, the plan of Israel's Holy, let us
　　know!"　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(18, 19)

Therefore, ...
. . . .

. . . . ·.
. . . .

---

[6] Verse 22 is a variant:
　　Wo to the valiant—in bouts of bibbing,
　　To the valorous—in mixing drink.

[7] For 12bc, 13, see after 21.

[8] For 15, 16, 17, see the notes.

IV

Wo! those in their own sight wise,
In their own eyes, understanding,   (21)

While the work of the Lord they do not regard,
And the deeds of his hand they do not see;   (12cd)

Therefore, my people shall perish in want of knowledge,
In lack of understanding shall they be undone; (13ax)

Her nobles shall famish with hunger,
Her throngs shall be parched with thirst.   (13bc)

V

Wo! those who call bad good and good call bad,
Who turn light into darkness and darkness into light,

Who for a bribe justify sinners,
And of justice defraud the just: (20ab, 23)

Therefore, as when stubble feeds tongues of fire,
As when chaff falls before flames,

Their roots shall rust into mold,
Their flowers unfold as dust.   (24a–d[9])

THE CALL OF ISAIAH

In the year that king Uzziah died, I saw the Lord sitting upon a throne, high and lifted up, and his train filled the temple. Above it stood the seraphim: each one had six wings; with twain he covered his face, and with twain he covered his feet, and with twain he did fly.   And one cried unto another, and said:

"Hold, holy, holy is the Lord of Hosts;
The whole earth is full of his glory."   (1–4)

And the posts of the door moved at the voice of him that cried, and the house was filled with smoke.   Then said I:

"Woe is me, for that I am undone;
For that I am a man of unclean lips
And amid a people of unclean lips do I dwell;
For mine eyes have seen the King, the Lord of Hosts."
                                                        (4, 5)

---

[9] For verses 24e–25, see p. 286; for verses 26–29, see p. 288.

Then flew one of the seraphim unto me, having a live coal in his hand, which he had taken with the tongs from off the altar. And he laid it upon my mouth, and said,

> "Lo, this hath touched thy lips,
> And thine iniquity is taken away,
> And thy sin is purged." (6, 7)

Then I heard the voice of the Lord, saying:

> "Whom shall I send,
> And who will go for us?"

Then said I : "Here am I : send me." And he said : "Go and tell this people :

> 'Hear ye, but understand not,
> See ye, but perceive not.
>
> Fatten this people's heart,
> Deafen its ears,
> Blind its eyes,
>
> Lest it see with its eyes,
> And hear with its ears,
> And understand with its heart,
>
> And turn,
> And be healed.' " (8–10)

Then said I, "How long, my Lord?" and he answered:

> "Till cities be left without dwellers,
> And houses without man;
>
> Till the Lord make wide the waste in the land,
> Make broad the desolation in the midst of the earth;
>
> And there be therein but a tithe,
> And there be still but a remnant,
>
> Like an oak left in a clearing,
> Like a terebinth standing in seed-land." (11–13)

THE PLOT OF ISRAEL AND ARAM

And it came to pass in the days of Ahaz, the son of Jotham, the son of Uzziah, king of Judah, that Rezin the king of Syria, and Pekah the son of Remaliah, king of Israel, went up to Jerusalem to war against it, but could not prevail against it.   And it was told the house of David, saying: "Syria is confederate with Ephraim"; and his heart was moved, and the heart of his people, as the trees of the wood are moved with the wind.   Then said the Lord unto Isaiah, "Go forth now to meet Ahaz, thou and Shear-jashub thy son, at the end of the conduit of the upper pool, in the highway of the fuller's field; and say unto him:

(1–3)

"Be at ease,
  And be at rest;

Fear not,
  Nor be thy heart weak,

Because of these stumps of fire-brands,
That smoke by the wrath of Ephraim and Arám;
(4b–f)

Because Aram has plotted against thee,
And Ephraim evil has devised, and said: (5)

'Let us go up in Judah,
And let us her terrify;
Let us rend her to ourselves,
And let us place a king in her midst':   (6)

Thus saith my Lord, the Lord:
  'It shall not come,
  It shall not be;   (7)

For the head of Aram is Damascus,
And the head of Damascus is Rezin;
And the head of Ephraim is Samaria,
And the head of Samaria is Ramaliah's son:
(8ab[10]–9ab)

  If your faith be not sure,
  Then shall ye not endure.' "   (9cd)

---

[10] For 8c see p. 399.

IMMANUEL

Moreover, the Lord spoke again unto Ahaz, saying: "Ask thee a sign of the Lord thy God; ask it either in the depth, or in the height above." But Ahaz said: "I will not ask, neither will I tempt the Lord." And he said: "Hear ye now, O house of David: Is it a small thing for you to weary men, but will ye weary my God also? Therefore my Master himself shall give you a sign: Behold, the young woman is with child and will bear a son, and will call his name 'God-with-us.' For before the child shall know to refuse the evil and choose the good, the land shall be deserted whose two kings thou abhorrest."

(7.10–14,[11] 16[12])

GOD IS WITH US!

Hear O ye peoples altogether,
Hearken all ye lands afar!

Gird yourselves—for retreat!
Arm yourselves—for defeat!

Plan ye a plan—it will be thwarted!
Plot ye a plot—it shall be unfulfilled!—

FOR GOD IS WITH US! (8.9–10)

THE LAW AND THE TESTIMONY

And the Lord said to me, Take thee a great roll, and write in it with a man's pen: "To Speedy-Spoil-Hasten-Booty." And I took unto me faithful witnesses to testify, Uriah the priest, and Zechariah the son of Jeberechiah. And I went into the prophetess; and she conceived and bare a son. Then the Lord said to me: Call his name "Speedy-Spoil-Hasten-Booty": for before the child shall be able to say "father" and "mother," the spoil of Samaria shall be taken away before the king of Assyria.

(8.1–4[13])

For the Lord spake thus to me, with a strong hand deterring me from walking in the way of this people, saying:

Say ye not "Holy" of all that this people say "Holy,"
Fear not their fear,
And dread not their dread:

The Lord of Hosts, of Him say ye "Holy,"
He be your fear,
And he be your dread—

[11, 12] For 7.15 see p. 400; for 7.17 see p. 285.
[13] For 8.5–8 see p. 283; for 8.9–10 see above.

But they shall be as a stumbling-block,
        And as a stumbling-stone,
        And as a rock of offence
            To the House of Israel,
        And as a gin,
        And as a snare,
            To the dwellers in Jerusalem,

And through them many shall stumble,
        And shall fall,
        And shall be broken,
        And shall be snared,
        And shall be caught.   (11–15)

Bind up the testimony for my followers,
Seal up the law among my disciples;   (16)

And when men say to you : "Go to the necromancers and wizards,
        Those that mutter and chirp—
        To the dead in behalf of the living—"

    "Should not a people go to its god—
To the testimony and the law"—is not this what ye should
        answer?   (19–20)

Behold I and the children whom the Lord hath given me are
for signs and for wonders in Israel from the Lord of Hosts,
which dwelleth in Mount Zion; and I will wait upon the Lord,
that hideth his face from the house of Jacob, and I will look for
him.   (18, 17)

                    THE ASSYRIAN FLOOD

And the Lord spoke still again to me and said :   (5)

Because that this people rejected the waters of Shiloh,
                That flow softly and faint,   [River,
Therefore my Lord shall bring upon them the waters of The
                That are mighty and great;   (6, 7a)

            And it shall overflow all its bed,
            And overflood all its banks,

        And it shall rush upon Judah with flushing sweep,
            And throat-high reach,
            And spread to his farthest ends,
            And fill the breadth of his land.   (7bc, 8)

CHAPTER 8

And he shall wander on,
By hunger bestead,
Wearied with anguish,
Into darkness thrust;   (21ab, 22cd)

And he shall turn on high, where there is no dawn,
And he shall look to the earth, and lo! gloom and distress;
                                               (21f, 20c, 22ab)

And then, in pain, shall he wax wroth,
And shall curse his king and, yea—his God!
                                               (21cd)[13a]

CHAPTER 10

DESTRUCTION IS DECREED

Therefore the Lord, the Lord of Hosts, will send into his fatness
                                               [leanness,
          And in place of his glory, shame,   (16)
          Body and soul, he shall pine,
          And as a sick man, sink away.   (18bc)

Lo! the Lord, the Lord of Hosts, will lop the boughs with a hook,
          And the high of stature shall be felled,
          And the lofty be brought low;
And he will hack the thickets of the forest with an axe,
          And the mighty Lebanon shall fall,
          And the sturdy Bashan be cut down;   (33, 34abx)

          And the Light of Israel shall become a fire,
          And his Holy One a flame,   (17ab)

And it shall consume the trees of his forests and fields,
And devour his thistles and thorns in a single day, (17c, 18a)

          And the rest shall be but few,
          And be counted by a child;   (19[14])

For though thy people, O Israel, be as the sand of the sea,
          But a remnant thereof shall remain:

          Destruction is decreed,
          A scouring scourge.   (22)

Yea, destruction and what has been decreed, my Lord, the
Lord of Hosts, will work in the midst of all the earth.   (23)

Chapter 7

THE EGYPTIAN FLY AND THE ASSYRIAN BEE

The Lord shall bring upon thee and upon thy people, and upon thy father's house days that have not come since the day that Ephraim separated from Judah.　　　　　　　　(7.17)

And it shall come to pass on that day:
The Lord will hiss to the fly at the end of the rivers of Egypt,
　　　　And to the bee in Assyria's land,

And they shall all come and light in the cañons of the steeps
　　　　And the crannies of the cliffs,

　　　　In each thorny-copse,
　　　　And in each grassy cove.　　　　(18, 19)

THE ASSYRIAN SWORD

On that day
My Lord will shave with a razor of hire
And with a blade that is strange
　　　　The hair of the head and the feet—
　　　　Yea, the beard will it sweep off.　　　　(20^{15})

THE LAND OF THISTLES AND THORNS

And it shall come to pass on that day:
Each place where grow a thousand vines for ten thousand dimes[16]
　　　　Shall be thick with thistles and thorns;
All the fields and the hills that are hoed with the hoe,
　　　　Shall be thick with thistles and thorns;

There the ox will tramp and the flocks will tread,
There will men go with arrow and bow,
　　　　For all shall be thistles and thorns.　　　　(23–24)

---

[15] Verse 21:
　　　　THE LAND OF MILK AND CURDS
　　　　And it shall come to pass on that day:
Each man shall nourish a calf of the herds,
　　　　And a sheep of the flocks,
　　　　And from the rich yield of milk,
All left in the land shall eat curds.

[16] Hebrew: *'eleph gephen b^c-'eleph keseph.*

STILL IS HIS HAND OUTSTRETCHED

I

. . . .
. . . .
. . . .
. . . .

For they rejected the law of the Lord of Hosts,
And the word of the Holy of Israel spurned,   (5.24ef)

Therefore, the Lord's wrath against his people was hot,
He stretched forth his hand against them and smote,

And the mountains flowed with the blood of the slain,
And their corpses like rubbish lay in the streets—

WITH ALL THIS HIS WRATH TURNED NOT,
STILL WAS HIS HAND OUTSTRETCHED.   (25)

II

But the people turned not to their smiter,
The Lord of Hosts they did not seek;   (9.12)

Their leaders were ever misleading
And they that they guided, misled,   (15)

For all of them were wicked, profane,
Each mouth did godlessly speak—   (16cd)

Therefore, the Lord from Israel cut head and tail,
Branch and rush in a single day,   (13)

In their youths he took no delight,
To their orphans he showed no love,
And their widows he did not spare—   (16ab)

WITH ALL THIS HIS WRATH TURNED NOT,
STILL WAS HIS HAND OUTSTRETCHED.   (16ef)

III

A crash sent the Lord throughout Jacob,
And ruin upon Israel;   (7)

But the people, all of them, mocked,
And said in pride, with insolent hearts: (8)

"Bricks have fallen, we will build with stone,
Sycamores are cut down—cedars we'll replace":   (9)

So the Lord exalted against them their foes,
Their enemies did he spur on: (10)

CHAPTERS 9, 10

> Arám in front,
> Philistia from behind,
> And Israel by mouthfuls they ate—   (11abc)

> WITH ALL THIS HIS WRATH TURNED NOT,
> STILL WAS HIS HAND OUTSTRETCHED.   (11de)

IV

By the rage of the Lord was the world inflamed,
And the people were as the food of wrath,   (18ab)

For wickedness burnt as a fire,
That consumes the thistles and thorns,   (17ab)

While the forest thickets blaze,
And the valleys roll up in smoke;   (17cd)

(Therefore) no man pitied his brother,
Each ate the flesh of his friend,   (18c, 19c)

Cut on the right, and was hungry,
Devoured on the left, nor was full: (19ab)

> Menassch, Ephraim,
> Ephraim, Menasseh,
> Together they two against Judah—   (20abc)

> WITH ALL THIS HIS WRATH TURNED NOT,
> STILL WAS HIS HAND OUTSTRETCHED.   (20de)

V

Wo to decreers of wicked decrees
And to scribes who in evil inscribe,

To wrest from justice the poor,
To rob of judgment my people's oppressed,

To make of widows a prey,
While the orphan they despoil—

And what will ye do on the day of charge,
When disaster comes from afar?

Where will ye flee for aid,
To whom entrust the weight of your wealth,

Lest amid the captives ye bow,
And amid the slain ye fall?

> WITH ALL THIS HIS WRATH TURNS NOT,
> STILL IS HIS HAND OUTSTRETCHED.   (10.1–4[17])

[17] For 10.5–11 see p. 290; for 10.12–15 see p. 291.

THE COMING OF THE ASSYRIAN

I

And he will raise a flag to a far-off folk,
And hiss them here from the end of the earth,

> And see! with haste,
> With speed they come:

> None of them tires,
> None of them trips,

> Nor does he slumber,
> Nor does he sleep;

Nor does he loose the cloth of his loins,
Nor does he snap the lace of his shoe;

> And his arrows are sharp,
> All his bows are bent,

The hoofs of his horses seem like flint,
His chariot-wheels like the whirling wind,

> He roars like a lion,
> He growls like its whelp,

He seizes, he carries away his prey—
AND NONE CAN SAVE.   (5.26–29[18])

---

[18] 5.30 is a variant of 8.21:
And on that day will he growl o'er him like the growling sea,
> Then will he look to the earth,
>> But lo! distress,
> And for the light—
>> In the clouds is night.

II

(From the North) he comes,
He has ascended to Ai:

He has crossed by Migron,
In Michmas his baggage he stores:

He has passed over The Pass,
At Geba Lodge he has lodged.

Ha-rama is horrified,
Gibeath Saul has fled:

Madmena is moved,
The people of Gebim refuge seek:

Shrill thy call, O Bath Gallim!
Raise thy voice, O Beth-Azmaveth!

Listen, Layisha!
Answer, Anathoth!—

Still today on Nob he will stand
And his hand will wave—

O Mount of Zion's daughter,
O JERUSALEM'S HILL!   (10.28–32[19])

---

[19] For 10.33, 34 see p. 284.

THE ASSYRIAN ROD
I

Wo Assyria, rod of my wrath
And staff in the hand of mine ire,   (5)

Against an impious people did I send him,
Against the folk of my anger, give him command:
    To bear away prey,
        To seize upon spoil;   (6a–d[20])

But he not thus was minded,
His heart not thus devised—

Destruction was in his heart,
The annihilation of nations not a few;   (7)

For he said:
"Are not my captives together all kings?
Is not like Carcemish Calnó?

"Is not like Arpad Hamáth?
Is not like Damascus Samaria?   (8–9)

"As my hand to these kings and their idols hath reached,
   Shall it from Jerusalem and her icons fall short?   (10ax)

"Nay, as even to Samaria and her images have I done,
   So also to Jerusalem and her gods shall I do."   (11)

II

But when my Lord shall have ended his work on Zion's mount,
   And his task on Jerusalem,

He will punish the haughty pride of the heart of Assyria's king,
   And the boastful arrogance of his eyes;   (12)

Because he said:
"By the strength of mine own hand have I acted,
And by mine own wisdom have I wrought;   (13ab)

"The boundaries of the peoples have I moved,
And I have despoiled their stores;   (13cd)

"I have brought down the glory of their habitants,
   To be trampled like the mire of the streets,   (13e, 6e)

---

[20] 6e after verse 13.

CHAPTER 10

"My hand hath reached for the nations' strength as for a nest—
As men gather eggs have I gathered the power of the earth—

    "And none flapped his wing
      Or parted his beak to peep''—   (14)

Shall the axe boast against him that with it hews?
Shall the saw vaunt against him that it doth wield?—

As though a staff should wield him that raised it!
As though the rod should lift him—that is not wood!   (15²¹)

III

Therefore thus saith my Lord, the Lord of Hosts:
    O my people, do not fear,
    O dwellers in Zion, be not dismayed
        Of Assyria who smites thee with a rod,
        And who raises against thee his staff;

    For yet a little and my wrath shall pass,
    And my anger against thee shall all be spent:

    Then against *him* shall the Lord of Hosts rouse his staff,
        As at the smiting of Midian,
        At Oreb's Rock,
    And against him shall he raise his rod,
        In the way of Egypt,
        At the Sea;   (24–26)

And it shall come to pass on that day:
    His burden shall be removed from off thy shoulder,
    And his yoke from off thy neck. ·   (27²²)

And it shall come to pass on that day:
    No longer shall Israel's Remnant
    And the House of Jacob's Saved
        Lean upon their smiter;
        But they shall lean upon their Holy One, the Lord.
            (20, 21)

---

²¹ For verses 16–20 see p. 284.
²² For verses 28–32 see p. 289.

CHAPTER 9

THE BIRTH OF THE PRINCE

The people that walked in darkness have seen a great light,
Upon those who dwelt in a land of gloom a radiance has shown:

> Thou hast multiplied their gladness,
> And magnified their joy—

They rejoice before thee as with joy of the harvest,
As men are glad when they share the spoil. (1, 2)

> For the yoke of their necks
> And their shoulders' load,
> The smiter's staff
> And the oppressor's rod
> > Hast thou broken as on Midian's day,
> > Hast thou shattered as on Egypt's road. (3abxcx)

> Yea, every boot that in ruthlessness tramped,
> And every garment that in blood was rolled,
> > Hath been given for burning,
> > For the food of flames. (4)

> > For a boy hath been born to us,
> > A son hath been given to us,

> And his name is Wonder-Counsellor,
> > Mighty-Hero,
> > Father of Knowledge,
> > Prince of Peace, (5)

> > For the increase of right,
> > And peace without end,

> > > On David's throne,
> > > And over his domain,

> > > To establish it,
> > > And to sustain,

> > > In justice,
> > > And in right,

> > > From now
> > > And for ay—

The zeal of the Lord of Hosts will accomplish this. (6)

NOTES ON THE PARALLELISM OF ISAIAH,
CHAPS. 1–10

CHAPTER 1

> 2. (a) Hear, O heavens; (b) and give ear, O earth; (c) for the
> Lord hath spoken.

This introductory strophe consists of three parallel lines, in
which, however, the parallelism between the first and second
lines is closer than that between the third and the other two;
for the parallelism between the first two lines is produced by
synonyms, "hear" and "give ear," and complements, "heaven"
and "earth"; whereas the third line contains no synonym for
any of these terms, but only complements, namely, "the Lord,"
complementary to "heaven" and "earth," and "hath spoken,"
complementary to "hear" and "give ear." This is a fairly
common type of strophe in Isaiah (cf. 2.10, 11); sometimes the
variation in the third line is further emphasized by a difference
in length, in the number of rhythmic beats. Such a difference
in the degree of closeness of parallelism produces a slight sense
of asymmetry, which is frequently satisfied by a following
strophe of similar formation, the two strophes together forming
a symmetrical whole (strophic parallelism).

The emphatic position of the word "Lord" in the Hebrew
of this strophe should be noted: "when it is the Lord who
speaks, even the heavens listen"; the theme of obedience is thus
subtly implied.

> 2. (d) I have nourished and brought up children (or "sons"),
> (e) and they have rebelled against me.

Parallelism is produced by the opposites "nourish" ("cher-
ish") and "rebel" ("forsake"), and by the relatives "children"
and "God [me]." The first of these two parallel lines, however,
contains two exact synonyms, "nourished" and "brought up,"
which suggests that it may originally have formed two lines. A
comparison with Is. 23.4, where the same pair of synonyms,
"nourish" and "bring up," occurs, followed by a masculine

Chapter 1

and feminine object respectively, makes plausible the insertion of the word "daughters," $b\bar{a}n\bar{o}th$, here as the object of the second verb, $r\bar{o}mamt\bar{\imath}$. Isaiah's frequent inclusion of women in his denunciations makes it certain that he included them here also, at least in his thoughts. Moreover, there would thus be removed one of the always suspicious cases of the so-called "weak waw," w^e-$r\bar{o}mamt\bar{\imath}$ (contrast w^e-'$\bar{a}n\bar{u}$ w^e-'$\bar{a}bh^el\bar{u}$ 3.26); and the strophe would now be identical in form with the preceding strophe (containing two lines closely synonymous, followed by a third in comparatively more distant parallelism), to which, indeed, it stands in antithetic thought parallelism as an antistrophe: the heavens listen to God, though Israel refuses to listen.

The emphatic position of "sons" in the Hebrew of this verse should again be noted; the emphasized idea of Israel as children and God as father, forces the mind to select, or at least emphasize, in $giddalt\bar{\imath}$ and $r\bar{o}mamt\bar{\imath}$ the meaning "bring up," "nourish," rather than "magnify;" "exalt"; and similarly to emphasize in $pasha'$ the meaning "disobey," "rebel," rather than the more general "transgress"; though, of course, the other ideas may still be present as undertones.

> 3. (a) The ox knoweth his owner, (b) and the ass his master's crib, (c) (but) Israel doth not know, (d) my people doth not consider.

The change from the three line to the four line strophe marks a slight change in the figure, though the transition is a subtle one. The term "owner," $q\bar{o}n\bar{e}$, is very close, in figurative usage, to "father"; in Deut. 32.6 the two terms "father" and "owner" (A. V. "that has bought thee") occur together. But in the second member of the parallelism here the word "crib" (or "manger") adds to the idea of disobedience the suggestion of ingratitude and also of stupidity, in Israel's failure to recognize the source of material blessings. The last two stichoi of the strophe, while closely parallel to the two immediately preceding, are also parallel in thought to all that has gone before. "Doth not know" and "doth not consider" are without expressed object; the immediate parallelism supplies the object in thought:

"Israel does not know and recognize me"; but also, without object: "Israel is without knowledge and understanding," in all the implications of those terms.   The whole prophecy to this point, then, is in a way summed up in these two lines.   The section consists of ten lines; and it will be seen that about ten lines are frequently given in Isaiah to the development of a theme—a statement which does not imply, of course, that the prophet counted the lines.

> 4. (a) Ah, sinful nation, (b) a people laden with iniquity, (c) a seed of evil-doers, (d) children that are corrupters.

A strophe of four perfectly synonymous lines; the compound phrase "laden with iniquity" takes the place of a simple adjective or participle, possibly merely because the root of the noun *'āwōn* (Arabic *ghawā*) was not used in other formation at this early period; if this be true, it would seem to show that Isaiah kept this root clearly distinct from the *'āwā* (Arabic *'awā*) used in 21.3, 24.1, 19.14; note that the roots *ghawā* and *χaṭa'* are exact synonyms: lit. "miss the way"   Isaiah seems, even more than other writers, conscious of Semitic root distinctions.

> 4. (e) They have forsaken the Lord, (f) they have provoked the Holy One of Israel unto anger, (g) they are gone (lit. become estranged) backward.

As the text stands there is here a reversion to the three stichoi type of strophe: three parallel lines (in Hebrew "provoked unto anger" is one word), the third, however, showing a slight difference in grammatical structure.   There is close thought parallelism between this strophe and the preceding; the one declares the sin, the other defines it in specific terms.   In such cases one expects a parallelism in form between the strophe and the antistrophe, and this expectation is worthy of consideration in the present instance because of the abnormal phrase "become estranged backward.'   In Ezek. 14.5 occurs simply: "they are all estranged from me" (*nāzōrū mē-'ālai*); and in Is. 42.17, 50.5; Jer. 38.22, the phrase "turned [away] back,"*nāsōghū 'āχōr;* it is quite possible, then, that the words "from Him" "they have turned," *mē-'ālaw, nāsōghū,* have fallen out, and that the

Chapter 1

strophe should be restored to one of four lines like that preceding, and without any linguistic gaucherie.

> 5. (a) Why should ye be stricken any more? (b) Ye will revolt more and more (lit. "add revolt").

Even if these two lines are read as parallels in form, with "why" (or "where") repeated in thought before the second, they are not logically parallel; and if "why" is not supplied, the second clause would seem to be subordinate to the first, a circumstantial clause in form. Psychologically there seems to be no reason here for the avoidance of parallelism. There is no climax and no sudden injection of a new idea in the word "revolt"—indeed, that idea has been repeatedly expressed in the four lines just preceding; in the first line of this new stanza, the address turns from the heavens and earth to the people themselves, and the thought turns to punishment; and, with the exception of the line in question, which blurs the artistic unity of the structure, the theme of punishment is developed in parallelism through verse 9. Moreover, the natural expectation of parallelism is strengthened by the fact that "any more," *'ōdh,* and "more and more," *tōsīfū,* are, indeed, parallel terms. It is barely possible, of course, that like other words denoting an attitude toward God, *sārā,* "revolt," by a species of metonymy, denotes at the same time the reciprocal attitude of God toward the revolter, i.e., desertion of man by God, hence punishment and disaster (cf. *'āwōn:* both "iniquity" and "punishment"; so also $\chi\bar{e}t'$; *ç^{e}dhāqā,* "righteousness" and "salvation"; *bārēkh,* "kneel to" (lit. "adore") and "cause to prosper"; *kābhōd,* God's "glory," and man's "reverence"; see also the note on *hādhār,* 2.11). But it is far more likely that in the course of either written or oral tradition, when the original stylistic beauty of the prophecy came to be neglected, *sārā* replaced some word denoting specifically "pain," "anguish," e.g., the approximate homonym *çārā* (cf. Jer. 49.24, where *çārā* denotes physical anguish; and with the restored phrase "add anguish," i.e., "increase your anguish," cf. Is. 29.19: "the meek shall add joy": "increase their joy").

> 5–6. (5c) The whole head is sick, (d) and the whole heart faint.
> · (6a) From the sole of the foot even unto the head (there is) no
> soundness in it.

It is difficult to say whether this is to be considered a three
or a four stichoi strophe. "From sole of foot to head" means
"the whole body," and stands in thought parallel to "the
whole" of the preceding lines; also parallel might be "no sound-
ness in it"; but it is also possible to read all of the words in 6a
together as a single long stichos; there would result a strophe
of two short and one long stichoi, the last not in as close verbal
parallelism to the first and second as they are to each other
(cf. verse 2 of this chapter). The repetition of the word
"head," *rōsh,* in two lines of close propinquity, calls for criti-
cism; such a repetition, unless the word is used in exactly the
same syntactic construction, hence for the purpose of special
emphasis, is stylistically as inelegant in Hebrew as in any other
language. "All the head is sick, from the head to the foot no
soundness, *mᵉthōm,* in it," is awkward; evidently, moreover, the
antecedent of "it" is meant to be "body." It is quite probable,
then, that the first *rōsh* has displaced an original *bāsār,* "flesh"
or "body": the whole body, inside and out, is diseased. In
support of this emendation Ps. 38.4 may be cited: "there is no
soundness [A. V. 'sound spot'] in my body." The word
mᵉthōm occurs only in these two passages; its formation is some-
what irregular, and it was quite possibly coined by Isaiah him-
self, in which case the phrase in the Psalms would seem to be
a quotation from Isaiah, and to preserve the original form of
the expression.

> 6. (b) Wounds, and bruises, and putrifying sores; (c) they
> have not been closed, neither bound up, neither mollified with oint-
> ment.

If the preceding is a three line strophe, then this section also
might be divided to make two three line strophes, each consist-
ing of two single synonyms parallel in form (masculine), plus
a third synonym (feminine) modified by an additional word.
In thought, also, these two strophes are parallel to the preced-
ing: the body is sick; it is all one wound; it is not treated.

Chapter 1

>   7. (a) Your country (is) desolate, (b) your cities (are) burned
> with fire: (c) your land, strangers devour it in your presence, (d)
> and (it is) desolate, as overthrown by strangers.

This strophe is identical in meaning with the last, with the substitution of literal for figurative terms; it is an antistrophe in thought. Stylistically, the last phrase ("and it is desolate," etc., lit. "and desolation") is offensive: it contains a repetition of two words already used in the strophe, "desolate" and "strangers"; or of one term, if for "strangers" be substituted the reading "Sodom," as suggested by some critics: "and desolate like the overthrowing of Sodom"—which, in its turn, is objectionable from another standpoint (see below). Probably the words "desolate" and "strangers" have come from some marginal note on these words, while "overthrown," *ke-mahpēkhath,* similarly is due to the reference to Sodom below; these words were then taken up by a copyist and combined into the awkward appendage to the strophe. Without it the verse consists of two normal lines plus a third longer line, the third, perhaps, excessively long; possibly *le-neghdᵉkhem,* "in your presence," also has come from the margin, in reality a gloss *dᵉghanᵉkhem,* "your corn," explaining "your land."

>   8. (a) And the daughter of Zion is left as a cottage in a vine-
> yard, (b) as a lodge in a garden of cucumbers, (c) as a besieged
> (lit. "guarded") city.

Again, apparently, a three stichoi strophe, this time with the longer line first; in form it is inversely parallel to the preceding strophe. The thought parallelism, however, is obscured in 8c; for the phrase "like a guarded city," *ke-'ir nᵉçūrā,* is not parallel to "cottage" (lit. "booth"), and "lodge." "Guarded city," if it occurred elsewhere, would certainly be interpreted "city preserved from danger" or possibly "garrisoned," like the Arabic *madīna maχrūsa* or *maχfūṭha;* or "city formerly guarded" (ef. 1.21, "the [once] faithful city"; 27.10, "the [once] fortified city is desolate"). To read (or understand), instead, "blockaded city" still leaves the picture blurred; the assumption must be that Isaiah left the picture of absolute loneliness expressed in the first two lines as clear as it is left in 30.17:

CHAPTER 1

"till ye be left as a mast (*tōren;* A. V. 'beacon') upon the top of a mountain, and as an ensign on a hill." Perhaps the simplest correction would be to omit the last "as," *ke,* and read: "as a lodge in a garden of cucumbers (is) the once guarded city"; the strophe would then consist of two lines of equal length. But it seems more probable that the form of the strophe as handed down is correct, even if some more violent change in the text is necessary to restore its consistency. The word *neçūrā* suggests the Arabic *nāthūra* (cf. Aramaic *nāṭōrā*), applied to the light scaffold on which the watchman stands in the orchards around Damascus; perhaps in *'ir,* "city," there is a corruption of some such word as *'ōren* (with the *n* repeated from the next word); in the Jerusalem Talmud to *Bābā Bathrā* ix.16d occurs *'īrānyā* (root *'aran* or *'ūr?*): "Holzgerüste worauf die Wächter der Felder zur Umschau standen" (Levy, *Neuheb. Wörterbuch*). Finally, there is the possibility that *'ir neçūrā* is a corruption for *'ir beçūrā,* and this an associative *lapsus linguae* for *mighdal nōçerim,* "tower of the watchers," from the apparently common phrase "from the tower of the watchman to the fortified city" (II Kings 17.9, 18.8); the probability of such a substitution of terms of exactly opposite connotation will be discussed in other places also; e.g., 2.12 ("low" for "high").

> 9. (a) Except the Lord had left unto us a very small remnant (lit. a remnant like a little), we should have been as Sodom, (b) (and) we should have been like unto Gomorrah.

Though there is parallelism between the two apodoses of this sentence, the protasis has no parallel; and while there are many examples in Isaiah of a long line with parallels only for the latter portion, this phenomenon is exceedingly rare where such a distinct entity as a protasis is concerned (for a somewhat similar case see 4.2); moreover, the long line here is excessively long. The verse is suspicious because the Prophet here apparently includes himself among the people ("had left unto us, we should have been"), whereas elsewhere throughout this prophecy, and, indeed, practically always he identifies himself

entirely with the divine voice (such an exception as the term
"our God," in verse 10, is without significance, while that in
2.5 will be explained later). The words sound like an "aside,"
injected at a later time; for they blur the evident intent to pic-
ture a process of destruction still threatening absolute extinction
unless reformation is immediate; cf. 2.22. Leaving aside the
objection to the first person, the verse might be restored to
parallelism and consistency of theme by omitting the protasis,
and reading simply: "almost are we become as Sodom, do we
resemble Gomorrah." But there is still the strong objection
to person, and to the further fact that it weakens the force of
the following lines; the whole strophe is probably a gloss.

> 10. (a) Hear the words of the Lord ye rulers of Sodom; (b)
> give ear unto the law of our God, ye people of Gomorrah.

These two lines are an example of perfect parallelism; and
yet, while submissive to the self-imposed restraint of form, the
Prophet-poet in a characteristic manner, which gains in dramatic
force just because of that formal restraint, by the twist of a
single phrase turns his prophecy into a direct and scathing
denunciation of his audience. The address "Hear the word of
the Lord, ye princes" contains no suggestion of the bitter sar-
casm to come at the end of the line; indeed, if verses 10ff. belong
with verses 2 to 9 as one prophecy, the first words of verse 10
intentionally recall the parallel address ("Hear, O heaven!")
in verse 2, and allow the listening princes the expectation that
they, too, are to be called upon to hear of Israel's troubles and
faults; a recital to which they are ready to listen sympathet-
ically, since according to the fashion of human nature, they have
not realized their own share in guilt. With the end of the
line ("Sodom") the appeal becomes suddenly a condemnation.
Again, in the next line, the ordinary course of parallelism would
probably have led the hearer to expect parallel to "princes of
Sodom" such a phrase as "leaders of Gomorrah" (see e.g.,
Judges 5.3: "Hear, O ye kings; give ear, O ye princes"); but,
instead, the people themselves are swept into the denunciation.
Such a sudden sarcastic turn to a phrase is found also in 5.22

("Ah! those who are mighty—in drinking wine!" See further-
more the note to 3.6).

> 11–15. (11a) To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices
> unto me? saith the Lord; (b) I am full of the burnt offerings of
> rams, (c) and the fat of fed beasts; (d) and I delight not in the
> blood of bullocks, (e) or of lambs, or of he goats. (12) When ye
> come to appear before me, who hath required this at your hand to
> tread my courts? (13a) Bring no more vain oblations: (b) incense
> is an abomination unto me, (c) the new moons and sabbaths, the
> calling of assemblies, I cannot away with; (d) (it is) iniquity, even
> the solemn meeting. (14a) Your new moons and your appointed
> feasts my soul hateth; (b) they are a trouble unto me; (c) I am
> weary to bear (them). (15a) And when ye spread forth your
> hands, I will hide mine eyes from you; (b) yea, when ye make many
> prayers, I will not hear: (c) your hands are full of blood.

In this series of verses the general intent of parallelism seems
evident; each phase has at least one parallel (except "saith the
Lord," which, not forming part of the prophecy, may always
be regarded as parenthetical). As the text stands at present,
however, the parallelistic order does not always stand out as
clearly as it has in previous strophes; nor is the theme developed
in quite the logical manner one is led to expect in Isaiah. Surely
the clear visualization of a scene of formal service such as is here
described would result in placing at the beginning of the pic-
ture those elements which stand logically first: the parallel
phrases "appear before me" and "tread my courts." It is
not difficult to suppose that by accident verse 12 was omitted
from its proper place after the words "To what purpose is it
unto me" (translate then: "that" [*kī*, instead of "when"] ye
come" etc.), was written in the margin, and was then inserted
by a copyist in the wrong place. The transposition produces
at the same time structural parallelism at the opening, in the
form of a double question (incidentally, "at your hand" [*miy-
yedhᵉkhem*] in verse 12 is probably a slip for "from you,"
mik-kem). Furthermore, by placing, "I delight not in" (11d)
as the predicate of "the multitude of your sacrifices" another
parallelism is restored: "I am full of" and "I delight not in"
(or "desire not"), with parallel generic objects "sacrifices,"

CHAPTER 1

$z^e bhā\chi īm$, and "burnt-offerings," *'ōlōth;* in apposition with
which follows a series of specific terms.   It should further be
noticed that with these slight transpositions there results also a
natural progression in the description of the divine attitude
toward service: from a rhetorical questioning of its utility
through an expression of satiety, displeasure, weariness, and
loathing, to the climax in verse 15, absolute rejection.

In verse 13, the words "vain," *shāw,* and "iniquity," *āwen,*
are striking; they soften the idea, expressed up to this point,
that God rejects formal hand and lip service—they have the
appearance of an afterthought; for surely the logical place for
such modifying terms would have been at the beginning or at
the end; it could not have been Isaiah's intention to condemn
all other service, whether "vain" or not, and condemn only such
oblation as is "vain."   Moreover, the word "iniquity," *āwen,*
is awkwardly inserted into the middle of what would otherwise
be a perfectly natural phrase, "the calling of assemblies and
[R. V. "even"] the solemn meeting," *q^erō' miqrā' wa-'ªçārā.*
Evidently the interrupting words have come from the margin;
lō' ūkhal was written there because accidentally omitted from
its proper place; while *āwen* (like the corresponding *shāw* above),
was the addition of a reader who wished to soften the absolute
condemnation of service.   If, nevertheless, *'āwen* and *shāw* are
to be retained, they must at least be placed in parallelism.

Surely, too, in verse 14 "your new moons," *\chiodhshēkhem,* is
a careless slip: the new moon has just been mentioned in verse
13; intended was evidently "your festivals," *\chiaggēkhem,* the
absence of any reference to which would be noticeable (cf. Amos
5.22) in a list as detailed as is this one.   The abundance of detail
in verses 1–14 is worthy of note, as it offers evidence in support
of the authenticity of detailed lists elsewhere in Isaiah; extreme
detail has a stylistic and dramatic value at times, no less than
extreme terseness; here it is admirably adapted to the theme.

In verse 15, while the first two lines are in synonymous par-
allelism, there is no similar parallel to the third sentence: "your
hands are full of blood."   On purely rhetorical grounds the

climax here might indeed justify a casting off of formal re-
straint, and gain in force by abruptness; but at the same time
the line does stand in a more distant parallelism, that of effect
and cause, with the first line of the strophe ("when ye spread
forth your palms [A. V. "hands"] I will hide mine eyes"),
the intent at parallelism being made clear by the synonymous
terms "palms" and 'hands"; contrasted with this specific rela-
tionship the absence of a fourth line complementary to the
second ("Yea, when ye make many prayers, I will not hear")
becomes illogical.   In previous cases of three line parallelism,
with the third line differing from the first two, the third stood
in no closer parallelism to one than to the other of them; but
here, as the text stands, proximity alone would, to the careful
reader, make "uncleanness of hands" seem the specific reason
for the rejection of service of the lips.   In Is. 59.1–3, where this
theme is echoed (such apparent references to the earlier Isaiah
are fairly frequent in the later), occurs the passage: "Neither
is His ear heavy, that it cannot hear; your sins have hid his
face from you that He will not hear; for your hands are defiled
with blood and your fingers with iniquity; your lips have spoken
lies, your tongue hath uttered perverseness"; which suggests
that probably a line has fallen out in Is. 1.5: "your lips are
defiled with lies" (cf. in 6.5 "man of unclean lips... in the
midst of a people of unclean lips"); here specifically with ref-
erence to false testimony and unjust judgment (cf. Is. 32.7),
the theme developed in verse 17.   (For another parallel to
"blood" cf. 4.4.)

This section, verses 10–15 as now arranged, contains just
twenty lines (see the translation).

> 16–17. (16a) Wash you, (b) make you clean; (c) put away
> the evil of your doings from before mine eyes; (d) cease to do
> evil; (17a) learn to do well; (b) seek judgment, (c) release the
> oppressed; (d) judge the fatherless; (e) plead for the widow.

The syntactic parallelism is evident because of the nine im-
peratives; but closer logical parallelism groups the following
pairs: "wash" and "cleanse"; "cease to do evil," "learn to

CHAPTER 1

do well''; ''judge the fatherless,'' ''plead for the widow.'' The first couplet (''wash you,'' ''make you clean'') is a figurative general introduction to the whole series of specific, literal terms that follows, and at the same time forms a parallelistic connection with the end (verse 15) of the last strophe as restored (your hands are bloody, your lips defiled: wash you, i.e. your hands; cleanse you, i.e. your lips). Noticeable is the excessive length of the line ''Put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes''; the line is suspicious also because of the repetition of the root (though not the exact form) ''evil''; ''put away the evil of your deeds'' and ''cease to do evil'' are too nearly identical to justify the repetition even in a passage as detailed as this; for surely the addition of the words ''from before mine eyes'' to the first of these phrases cannot be meant to be emphatic (i.e., do your evil deeds elsewhere); ''put away,'' *hāsīrū*, by itself means ''make an end of'' (cf. verses 25 and 3.18; Jer. 4.4). The similar phrase ''before you'' has been noticed in verse 7; see again in 13.16; also Amos 9.3; it is a phrase which might readily slip off the tongue (or the pen) of a reader or an editor. Symmetry is secured by omitting this line of glosses; read *hāsīrū* for *'ashsh^{e}rū* (lit. (*a*) ''lead'' or (*b*) ''call happy''); and correct the ἅπαξ λεγόμενον χᾱmōç to χ^{a}mōs (''violence,'' ''injustice'') in 17c.

> 18–20. (18a) Come now, and let us reason together, saith the Lord: (b) Though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow; (c) though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool. (19) If ye be willing and obedient, ye shall eat of the good of the land; (20a) But if ye refuse and rebel, ye shall be devoured with the sword; (b) for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it.

A double pair of parallels, each of the four stichoi in the form of a hypothetical sentence, stand between two single lines (18a, 20b), which to a certain extent, also form a parallel; i.e., an example of the ''envelope'' construction; at the same time the last stichos, ''For the mouth of the Lord hath spoken,'' is parallel to a phrase in the first strophe of the whole prophecy (verse 2).

Of the four intervening sentences, the second pair ("if ye be willing, etc.") contain a clear statement of the logical, just results of Israel's conduct; and the first pair, cast in exactly the same form, must be interpreted also as expressing a logical and just conclusion: if a man sins, he must repent and make reparation, and the deeper the sin, the greater the need of repentance; "if your sins are as scarlet, then shall they become (shall you make them) white as snow; then if they are white as snow (if you are wholly obedient), you shall prosper; but if you are rebellious (if your sins do not become white as wool and snow), your punishment shall continue even unto absolute destruction." Such must be the emphasis in these verses if there is any significance to the parallelism in formal and syntactic construction.

> 21. (a) How is the faithful city become an harlot! (b) (it was) full of judgment, (c) righteousness lodged in it; (d) but now murderers.

The prophecy extending from verse 21 through verse 26 shows almost perfect parallelism. Though the rhyme also is noticeable, it is possibly accidental (see also 2.6); indeed, it is sometimes impossible in parallelism to avoid that degree of rhyme which extends only to verbal and nominal syllabic suffixes; and this fact may explain the origin of rhyme in the Arabic *saj'*.

In verse 21 the terms "faithful city," "the one full of judgment" (or "justice"), "in which abode righteousness" are not only thought parallels, but also, to a greater extent than the English reveals, syntactic parallels. The construction of noun governing a following abstract genitive so frequently takes the place of noun and (in Semitics following) adjective that the two constructions become almost identical to the linguistic consciousness; and both in later Hebrew and in later Arabic the tendency is to give to the adjective the construction proper to the abstract noun. The relative clause, also, is so closely identical with the adjective (or participle) appositive that in strict

Chapter 1

Semitic syntax it must submit to the same law of definiteness as the adjective; and on the other hand, as the adjective itself may always be used as an independent substantive (e.g., in verse 24 "the mighty of Israel"), so the relative clause may take the place of a substantive (see e.g., 2.8, 20, and the note to 2.22); here the clause "righteousness lodged in it" may be a relative clause, with relative pronoun omitted (cf. 10.24); it is practically the equivalent of "in which righteousness used to lodge," "the former righteous one"; and its appositional parallelistic nature is made certain by 26c, the refrain, where "city of righteousness" is substituted for it. Moreover, inasmuch as *yālīn*, "lodge," is frequently used of abstract qualities which "continue," the clause is not entirely inconsistent with the personification of the city introduced at the beginning of the strophe; although at the same time it is "righteousness" which in this stichos is personified as the inhabitant of Zion. In any case, all three lines are figurative; the next strophe is also figurative (though the figure changes); and figurative terms continue to verse 22. Thus the one line (21d), "and now murderers," stands alone in its literalness, at the same time that it is grammatically awkward. In defence of the line in its present position it might be urged that its very awkwardness and concreteness give it a special climactic emphasis; but, as a matter of fact, that would be emphasis misplaced; for, as the poem develops, greed, not murder, is seen to be its real subject, and the following strophe, since it contains no similarly emphatic term, would then be a decided anticlimax. The phrase is probably misplaced.

Whether a three or four line strophe, it contains a long first line, with parallels only for the latter half, a not uncommon type (see verse 8, and 2.12, 2.20, 3.1, 3.18, 7.19; cf. also 10.12); the slight feeling of asymmetry holds the entire poem here in suspense until the concluding strophe, which is of similar formation (though consisting of only two lines) and also of almost identical phraseology, a variety of the envelope figure applied to a whole poem instead of merely to a strophe or stanza.

22–23. (22a) Thy silver is become dross; (b) thy wine mixed with water: (23a) thy princes (are) rebellious, (b) and companions of thieves: (c) every one loveth gifts, (d) and followeth after rewards; (e) they judge not the fatherless, (f) neither doth the cause of the widow come unto them.

Verse 23 explains concretely the previous figures; and from this standpoint the reference to "murderers" in verse 21 belongs here. "And now murderers," w^e-$ʻatt\bar{a}$ $m^era\varsigma\varsigma^e\chi\bar{i}m$, is perhaps a corruption of an original phrase "assembly of murderers," wa-$ʻ^adhath$ $m^era\varsigma\varsigma^e\chi\bar{i}m$, parallel to "companions of thieves," or better "company of thieves" ($\chi ebher$ for $\chi abhr\bar{e}$; cf. Hosea 6.9: "the company of priests murder in the way"; for $ʻ^adhath$, cf. Ps. 22.17, "assembly of the wicked"; also, "pack," "swarm"). The term "murderer" here is perhaps hyperbole; though the injustice as described might indeed result in the death of those defrauded. The transferrence to verse 23 makes another three line (anti) strophe, each line of which corresponds to one in the first strophe: faithfulness and rebellion; justice and robbery; righteousness and murder; between the two, however, stands a couplet, verse 22.

24. (a) Therefore saith the Lord, (b) the Lord of hosts, (c) the mighty (One) of Israel, (d) Ah, I will ease me of mine adversaries, (e) and avenge me of mine enemies.

If the introductory words (24a–c) stand within the strophic arrangement, it is easy to divide them so as to make either another two line strophe (one long line and a shorter line parallel to its latter half), or a three line symmetrical strophe.

25–26. (25a) And I will turn my hand upon thee, (b) and purely purge away thy dross, (c) and take away all thy tin: (26a) And I will restore thy judges as at the first. (b) and thy counsellors as at the beginning: (c) afterward thou shalt again be called The city of righteousness, (d) The faithful city.

The parallelism is again evident in these three strophes; though the second and third members of verse 25 are more closely parallel to each other than they are to the first. In matters of detail: the doubtful word "purely" (kab-$b\bar{o}r$; lit.

CHAPTER 1

either "like purity" or "as with lye") is parallel to "all"; possibly the Septuagint εἰς καθαρόν represents an original *lab-bōr:* "into purity" (cf. "burn into lime" in Amos 2.1), i.e., "entirely." If, however, the emendation *bak-kūr,* "in a furnace," is accepted, then neither this word nor "all" is emphatic; both are inserted for the sake of length: for "smelt in the furnace" means no more than "smelt" alone. The repetition of *'āshībhā* (verse 25, "I will turn"; verse 26, "I will restore"), in two different senses so closely together, is inelegant; the Septuagint, which does not intentionally avoid using the same word twice in the translation of Isaiah—indeed, sometimes uses repetition where the Hebrew uses synonyms—has ἐπάξω in verse 25 (= *āshībhā,* Amos 1.8), and ἐπιστήσω in verse 26, i.e., *'āqīmā:* "I will establish." The latter is exactly the term used in Judges 2.16 (*way-yāqem 'adhōnai shōph^eṭīm*), of the institution of the Judges. Perhaps, however, the first *'āshībhā* was originally *'ānīphā,* as in Is. 11.15: at any rate, it is easy to believe that in one case or the other the text was illegible, and Hebrew and Septuagint each supplied a word from the context. It is also possible, since verse 25 seems to be an antistrophe to verse 22, a couplet, that verse 25a ("And I will turn my hand upon thee") is out of place; indeed, since it is a proper introduction to a new act, if the "enemies" are not outside enemies who are first to be punished, but are the "robbers" and "murderers," the "dross" and "alloy" within, this transition verse is logically superfluous.

Concerning the closing strophe, see under verse 21.

> 27. (a) Zion shall be redeemed with judgment (b) and her converts with righteousness.

"Converts," *shābhēhā,* is parallel to "Zion": perhaps the closer parallel *yōsh^ebhēhā* ("her inhabitants"); cf. "inhabitants of Zion" in 12.6, "inhabitant of Jerusalem," 5.3) was the original reading; it is Zion and her at present unrepentant inhabitants that need redemption.

CHAPTER 1

> 28. (a) And the destruction (lit. "breaking") of the trans-
> gressors and of the sinners (shall be) together, (b) and they that
> forsake the Lord will be consumed.

Corruption of the text is as evident here as is the intention
of parallelism; but whether the strophe was originally one of
two or of three lines is doubtful. The last member of the strophe
("and they that forsake," etc.) is apparently in good order;
but the verb *yikhlū* might better be translated "shall be no
more" (cf. "cease," as in 16.4, "the spoiler ceaseth," and "be
cut off" in 11.13); i.e., Zion shall be redeemed because her peo-
ple shall cease to be forsakers of God. This interpretation is
demanded if verse 29 belongs after verse 28; they surely cannot
"be ashamed" when "they have been destroyed," nor should
they be destroyed because they have become ashamed, i.e., have
repented. The parallel verb demanded at the beginning of
verse 28, then, is not *shābh^{e}rū,* "break," but rather *shābh^e-
thū,* "cease" (cf. Is. 14.4: "the oppressor has ceased"); and
yaχdaw ("together," due perhaps to the *yaχdāw* in verse 31)
was perhaps originally *yaχd^{e}lū* ("cease to be," parallel to
shābhath in 24.8, e.g.; cf. Judges 5.6, 7). If, on the other hand,
a two line verse was intended, it is difficult to see why the
superfluous *yaχdaw* was added to a line sufficiently long without
it. The three line strophe, if restored, is again one in which
the third synonym, "deserters of God," differs slightly in form
and in degree of synonymity from the first and second.

> 29. (a) For they shall be ashamed of the oaks which ye have
> desired, (b) and ye shall be confounded for the gardens that ye have
> chosen.

The correction "ye" for "they" (shall be ashamed) in
stichos a is demanded by the parallelism in b; Septuagint, how-
ever, reads third person throughout. If the second person is
correct, the validity of the interpretation advanced for the
previous verse is strengthened: those who are to be redeemed
are the very sinners to whom the Prophet is addressing himself
here. "To be ashamed of," of course, is "to be disappointed
in," and "come to a realization of the uselessness of."

Chapter 1

> 30. (a) For ye shall be as an oak whose leaf fadeth, (b) and
> as a garden that hath no water.

Two facts of style are noticeable here: the repetition of *kī*,
"for," at the beginning of verses 29 and 30; and the repetition
of "oaks" and "gardens."   If verse 30 belongs here and is in
the proper form, the second *kī*, which is then parallel to the first,
might be translated "yea": "for ye shall be ashamed; yea,
ye shall be as oaks."   But the repetition of "oaks" here, in a
figurative usage and in no way parallel to the same term used
literally in the previous strophe—as though it were an after-
thought due to the first reference—seems too casual to be due
to Isaiah.   It were better to think its position here due to a
reader, or, if the verse is really Isaiah's, to the compiler of these
prophecies.   If, however, the verse was placed here by Isaiah
himself, then, despite the *kī* (which as in 3.8 then would become
subordinate to the previous *kī*), it would be better to suppose
an error in the person of the verb, and again read, with the
Septuagint, "for they (shall be as an oak," etc.), the subject
being "oaks" and the preposition "as" (*kᵉ*) being, perhaps,
the so-called "kaf veritatis" or "kaf of the predicate"; though
the comparison might in reality be due to the fact that implied
in the terms "oaks" and "gardens" in verse 29 is the idea of
idolatrous worship: the intent of the comparison would then be
to liken these sacred trees and groves to ordinary trees and
groves, and still further to those trees and groves which wither
and like which they, too, will prove useless and will be deserted.

> 31. (a) And the strong shall be as tow, (b) and the maker of
> it as a spark, (c) and they shall both burn together, (d) and none
> shall quench.

The main difficulty in this verse as it stands, lies in the
absence of any clear reason for the comparison between "maker
of it" and "spark."   In what sense can a man be likened to a
spark?   At the bases of Isaiah's figures of speech there is always
some easily recognizable natural phenomenon.   The objection
is not satisfied even if "strong" be interpreted as "strong
(man)" and if instead of "maker of it," *pōᵉᵃlō*, there be read

"his work," *po'ºlō*—unless, indeed, the "strong man" is the smith, and "his work" is the object he is forging at the anvil. Strophic parallelism, and the logical development of the thought, would lead the reader to expect here a further reference to the sacred trees, and the manner of their destruction; and, indeed, the word "strong," *χāçōn*, in its only other occurrence (Amos 2.9) is used in the figure "strong as the oaks"; it means really "sturdy," or rather "rugged," and quite possibly means here not "the strong man" but "the strong tree" (cf. 10.33, where "the high" and "the lofty" mean "the high and lofty trees"). Perhaps, then, for *pōºlō* should be sought a term parallel to "tree"; '*ºnāphō* (with *l* for *n*, and transposition), "its branches," is possible. The word for "spark" used here (*nīçūç*) is a *ἅπαξ λεγόμενον*, from a root meaning apparently "to shine"; the specific meaning is derived from the context, and might as well be ",flash," "conflagration," "flames," as "spark" (the language possesses other words for "spark" as well as for "flame"). With the resultant picture of the tree with burning branches (here, of course, the single tree is the representative of all the trees, and the branches are the entire foliage of the garden) compare that of the burning bush, which, however, being a really sacred tree, was *not* consumed; cf. also Jer. 11.16: "The Lord called thy name a green olive tree, . . . he hath kindled fire upon it, and the branches of it are broken (but read, perhaps, "consumed" *bā'ºrū* for *rā'ū*); and in Arabic *shajara mutaqādiχa:* "trees with soft, weak branches, which, when the wind blows, blaze forth with fire" (Lane, s. v. *Qadaχa*); and the proverb: "Bend me the branches and I shall kindle fire for thee." If there is needed a more specific reference to the garden, '*ºnāphāh*, "her (i.e., the garden's [fem.]) branches, foliage" might be read. To read, as has been suggested by some, "his work shall be as thorns" (*na'çūç*, instead of *nīçūç*) without changing *pōºlō* or *po'ºlō*, still leaves the latter without any apparent natural place in the picture of the forest or grass fire, a picture which seems to have appealed strongly to Isaiah.

At the end of this poem occurs the short line "and none shall quench" (*wº-ēn mºkhabbè*), parallel to "they shall burn to-

Chapter 1

gether''; such a short line is a very effective rhetorical device
in its proper place (e.g., as here, at the end of a poem), either
because of its comparative brevity, or because each word is to
be emphasized and held, so as to make the time value of the line
equal to that of the other lines (cf. ''and none shall save'' in
5.29 and elsewhere).

Chapter 2

> 2. (a) And it shall come to pass in the last days, (b) (that) the
> mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the
> mountains, (c) and shall be exalted above the hills.

The phrase ''and it shall come to pass in the last days,''
we-$h\bar{a}y\bar{a}$ b^e-$'a\chi^ar\bar{\imath}th$ hay-$y\bar{a}m\bar{\imath}m$, stands clearly without parallel,
just as does usually the similar phrase ''and it shall be on that
day'' (4.2; 7.18, 20, 21; 10.20; 11.11); it might be compared to
a prelude, an opening strain at the beginning of a musical com-
position, and independent of it; or it is a sort of title: ''Prophecy
concerning the Last Day.'' Similarily such a phrase as ''Thus
saith the Lord'' may be the equivalent of a title.

The first strophe of the prophecy consists of a long (2b) and
a shorter line (2c), as is frequently the case; here, however, the
first line is unusually long, and the word ''house'' is super-
fluous; despite the fact that it occurs in the other version of this
poem (Micah 4.5), it probably is a variant of ''mountain'' and
has wrongly been incorporated in the text. The Septuagint,
indeed, makes it a parallel to ''mountain''; ''the mountain of
the Lord shall be manifest ($\dot{\epsilon}\mu\phi a\nu\grave{\epsilon}s$), and the house of God (be)
on the top of the mountains''; while in Micah the Septuagint
reads: ''The mountain of the Lord'' (i.e., without ''house''),
though it has a second predicate, again yielding a parallel: ''the
mountain of the Lord shall be manifest, established on the tops
of the mountains.'' In verse 3, where the two words occur
again, the parallelism is clear. The evidence would seem to
show, then, that there was a variant (marginal?) version of
2ab, namely: ''the house of the Lord shall be established on the
top of the mountains, and his mountain be exalted above the
hills''; the present text represents a conflation.

CHAPTER 2

Worthy of note is it that the Micah version of the Hebrew places the predicate adjective *nākhōn*, "established," in the more natural position, after the verb, instead of in the emphatic position which it has in Isaiah. Whichever position is original, there is here incontrovertible evidence that in the course of the Hebrew oral or written tradition of these verses, transposition has taken place. The shorter of the two lines in Isaiah is exceedingly short by comparison; it is probable that the extra pronoun *hū'* of Micah is original.

> 2c–3a. (2c) And all nations shall flow into it. (3a) And many people shall go and say.

Since "go," *wᵉ-hālᵉkhū*, in Hebrew is applied to the movement of waters (e.g., Is. 8.6: "the waters of Shiloh that go softly"), the parallelism between the two stichoi need not be doubted. The word *wᵉ-āmᵉrū*, "they shall say," is perhaps to be omitted; notice Is. 3.6, where there is no word to introduce the direct discourse; at any rate it is parenthetical, of so little emphasis that it does not affect the question of parallelism.

"Many," *rabbīm*, in the second stichos is an ineffective parallel to "all" in the first. The word occurs again in 4b, but without a parallel in 4a. In the corresponding Micah passage another transposition has taken place: "many" occurs in the first stichos of the strophe, but has in the second stichos two parallels: "mighty," *ʿaçūmīm* (which is a parallel to *rabbīm* also in Is. 53.12), and "afar off," *ʿadh rāχōq;* one of the three terms there is redundant; and the redundancy in Micah and deficiency in Isaiah are again ample evidence of variation in tradition, of marginal notations, of conflations and of omissions. The variants in Micah show, perhaps, that the meaning attached to *rabbīm* here was "mighty," not "many"; so also in Is. 5.9 and Amos 3.15 probably, the translation "many houses" for *bāttīm rabbīm* is not exact; either "mighty houses" (like the Arabic *dār rabba*) or "multiple houses"—in either case denoting palaces—avoids the anticlimax of the adjective. So here, either "mighty nations" or "mighty mass of nations" is the intention, if *rabbīm* is the correct reading and in its proper place.

Chapter 2

> 3–4. (3b) Come ye and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord,
> (c) to the house of the God of Jacob: (d) and he will teach us of
> his ways, (e) and we will walk in his paths: (f) for out of Zion
> shall go forth the law, (g) and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem.
>
> (4a) And he shall judge among the nations, (b) and shall re-
> buke many people; (c) and they shall beat their swords into plow-
> shares, (d) and their spears into pruning-hooks: (e) nation shall
> not lift up sword against nation, (f) neither shall they learn war
> any more.

On "many" in 4b, see above.

The perfect regularity in the parallelism of these six coup-
lets, as well as of the preceding (barring the introductory line)
is noticeable; likewise the absence of any three line strophe.   It
should be noticed that Micah has an additional verse: "But they
shall sit every man under his vine and under his fig tree; and
none shall make them afraid, for the mouth of the Lord of Hosts
hath spoken it."   This verse is possibly an addition to the
poem from another source; unlike the rest of the poem it refers
specifically to the lot of the individuals (suffixes therefore are
in singular instead of plural); and the nature of the parallelism
is different also; to give the sentence "and none shall make
(them) afraid" its natural position as the emphatic final short
sentence of the poem, it becomes necessary to include "and
under his fig tree" in the preceding line, yielding one which is
then excessively long by comparison with the rest of the poem,
and which contains within itself two parallel words.   It should
be noted, however, that such a couplet, matching the irregularly
balanced first couplet of the prophecy, might not be unexpected
in Isaiah; nor would the concluding phrase "for the mouth of
the Lord of Hosts hath spoken it," balancing the introductory
"And it shall come to pass in the last days," be unusual.

> 5–6a. (5) O house of Jacob, come ye and let us walk in the light
> of the Lord. (6a) Therefore thou hast forsaken thy people, the
> house of Jacob.

That these lines stand outside the previous poem is no less
evident than that they nevertheless refer to it.   Verbally, they
are linked to it by the terms "come and let us walk" and
"House of Jacob," echoing verse 3b (hence also the first person

plural; there is no significance, then, in the fact that the Prophet
[Isaiah?] here identifies himself with the people).   Verses 5
and 6a both contain the phrase "House of Jacob"; it is evi-
dently emphatic, then, marking the contrast between "the
nations" of the preceding lines and Israel.   Turning to Micah,
we find there also an appendage to the poem: "For all the
nations walk each in the name of its god, and we will walk in
the name of the Lord our God forever"; i.e., with a curiously
illogical twist: "Since all other nations are loyal to their god
(not, as we should expect: Since even all the nations that now
follow other gods will eventually turn to our God), we must
be loyal to ours."   This appendage is similar to that in Isaiah
in its general intent: a comparison between "the nations" and
Israel, and for Israel (by implication disloyal) a lesson drawn
from the contrast.   Both contain the phrase "we shall walk";
Micah's "in the name of our God" is Isaiah's "in the light of
the Lord."   The vocative "House of Jacob" is absent from
Micah; but the emphasis produced by the repetition of that
phrase in Isaiah has its virtual parallel in Micah's emphatic
pronoun "we," *'aⁿnaχnū*.

In Isaiah the line "for (not, as in A. V. "therefore") thou
hast forsaken thy people, the House of Jacob," while more
emphatic than Micah, contains, like Micah, a *non sequitur*.   Its
intention must have been to express the present disloyalty of
Israel; it is therefore quite probable that "thy people" is again
an associative lapsus for "thy God" (less likely a defective
reading of "the God of thy people").   This hardly seems more
improbable than that the Prophet, who has just addressed the
House of Jacob in the second person, is now addressing God in
the second person, without indicating the change by the intro-
duction of a new vocative; or is guilty of such an illogical
sentence as: "Come, House of Jacob, let us be faithful to God,
because *he* has (text: *thou* hast) forsaken the House of Jacob."
On the use of *naṭashtā* compare Jer. 15.6: "thou hast forsaken
(*naṭashtā*) me, saith the Lord; thou art gone backward" (cf.
Is. 1.4).   The copyist's or editor's change may have been due
here to the attempt to establish a connection between 6a and 6b.

Chapter 2

> 6b–c. (b) Because they be replenished from the East, and (are)
> soothsayers like the Philistines, (c) and they please themselves in
> the children of strangers.

The structure and the tone of the following poem (6b-21) when compared with the preceding make almost certain a separation between the two. The general subject, however, the idolatry of Israel, is sufficient explanation for the editorial juxtaposition. If 6a and 6b belonged together they would furnish another example of two immediately adjoining verses beginning with *ki*, ''for''—parallel, if 6a is changed as suggested above: ''for thou hast deserted thy God; yea (*kī*) they (ye) be replenished from the East''—but the second subordinate to the first, if the Massoretic text is retained unchanged: ''for thou hast deserted Israel, for they,'' etc.; the English again conceals the repetition of *kī* by varying the translation.

The wording of 6b is almost unintelligible; the English glosses over some of the difficulties, which are due, quite possibly, to the fact that the beginning (and end) of the document from which it was edited (skin, parchment, or potsherd?) was in bad physical condition, with some of the defective portions restored on the margins. On this assumption a proper introduction to the prophecy would be found by transposing so as to precede 6b the superfluous lines now incorporated in verses 9–11 (q. v.); for the poem seems originally to have contained three stanzas, with introductory (or introductory and closing) refrains of almost identical phraseology; the phrases of these refrains are actually found scattered through the poem.

The first couplet (6bc) of the poem proper consists of a long followed by a shorter line; as does also the opening of each of the other stanzas (verses 12 and 20). The reading *māle'ū*, ''they be replenished,'' literally ''full,'' in the difficult first line seems supported, as far as the root is concerned, by the parallelism: each of the three succeeding strophes of the stanza begins with the same root, but the plural number of its subject, though apparently supported by *yaspīqū*, ''they please themselves,'' is made suspicious by the singular suffix throughout almost the whole of the remainder of the poem; the plural *ū* in *yaspīqū*

is so easily explicable as dittography from the *ū* with which the
next word begins, as a divisional mark between the verses, or as
an editorial correction (for still another suggestion see below),
as to be negligible for evidence.   Indeed, the subject of the poem
throughout is *'ādhām,* "man," treated as a singular collective
(see clearly the parallel long line in verse 20, and the refrain
"man boweth down"; the English translates as plural through-
out) ; and this same subject logically ought to appear in the
text as the subject of "fill" in the first stanza also; while the
object ought to be *hā-'āreç* or *'arçō,* "the land," or "his land,"
the word repeated in the following parallel lines.   The Septua-
gint has either inserted or preserved this object in its transla-
tion; and *'ādhām* is probably to be seen in the Hebrew *miq-
qedhem,* "from the East" (on the possibility of confusion be-
tween *q* and *'* see Is. 5.8, where the Septuagint apparently read
me'ūmā, "anything," for *māqōm,* "place"; Ez. 22.25, *'asher,*
"whose," for *qesher,* "conspiracy").   In the word "and sooth-
sayers" the *ū,* "and," may represent the suffixed pronoun of
'arçō, "his land" (the Septuagint has "their land") ; with a
repetition of *'* from *māle'ū* and of *ū* (for *r*), and with the *m*
from *miq-qedem* corrected to *ç* (a not impossible confusion in
the older alphabet), we might find the rest of that word, on the
supposition that *'ādhām* was omitted and then written over *'arçō,*
while a later copy resulted in the present confused text.   But
the word *'ōnenīm,* "soothsayers," also is suspicious.   The rest
of the first stanza develops two charges against Israel : proud
luxury and attendant idolatry; the second stanza deals with
pride, as exemplified in things "tall"; while the third returns
specifically to the subject "idols of gold and silver"; but
"soothsaying" is not mentioned again either in the parallel lines
of stanza 1 or in stanzas 2 or 3.   The comparison "like the
Philistines," moreover, is not especially appropriate in a charge
of soothsaying; it is appropriate, however, in the condemnation
of luxury developed in the rest of the poem.   For both Phoenicia
and Philistia, as coastal countries, had their trade connections
westward, Philistia particularly with Egypt; Philistine cities

CHAPTER 2

were centers for the importation of Egyptian jewelry and lux-
uries. Perhaps, then, for *'ōn^enīm* we might read *'^adhānīm,*
usually "dainties," but occurring with the desired more general
meaning in II Sam. 1.24 ("clothed you in scarlet and other
delights"; though this passage is suspected). If *'^adhānīm* is
to be read here, parallelism would suggest also for the difficult
ū-bh^eyaldhē, "in the children," of the next line *ū-bha'^adhi,*
"in the ornaments," which occurs with *'^adhānīm* in the Samuel
passage just cited. Inasmuch as *yaspīqū,* "they please them-
selves," is parallel to "fill," of the two possible meanings for
its root, "be sufficient" (or "plenty"), and "slap" (or "clap")
(here, on the basis of the Arabic, in bargaining, trading), the
former ought logically to suggest itself to the mind. The mere
fact that *sāphaq* in this sense is found only in two other, probably
later, passages of the Old Testament (hence supposedly due to
Aramaism), is not sufficient reason for denying to Isaiah, with
his rich vocabulary, acquaintance with the word. If an abso-
lutely unknown word stood there, or, in fact, only a blank space,
parallelism would supply, as has the Septuagint, the idea of
"fill." Moreover, *saphaq* in Arabic (with the heavier *s,* though
as in Hebrew, the two sibilants are confused in this word), also
means "to fill" (the wine-cup: probably the development of
the idea is: "clap," "clap closed," then "fill"); it should be
noted, moreover, that in the sense "clap," *sāphaq* in Hebrew has
a disagreeable connotation: that of remorse, sorrow, mockery; in
neither sense is the causative conjugation used, as here. Read
possibly *yispōq,* "he has a sufficiency of," or *siphqō,* "is his suf-
ficiency," or, retaining the causative, *yaspīqèhā,* "he fills it"
(i.e., his land); the couplet would then read:

> *kī millē' 'ādhām 'arçō '^adhānīm kap-P^elishtīm*
> *ūbha-'^adhī nokhrīm yaspīqèhā.*

7–8. (7a) Their land also is full of silver and gold, (b) neither
(is there any) end of their treasures; (c) their land is also full of
horses, (d) neither (is there any) end of their chariots; (8a) Their
land also is full of idols; (b) they worship the work of their own
hands, (c) that which their own fingers have made.

CHAPTER 2

The perfect regularity of the four clauses constituting verse 7, with the first closely parallel to the third, and the second parallel to the fourth—all the clauses being also in (less intimate) parallelism—and the presence of a clause in verse 8 (a) closely parallel to the first and third of verse 7, most certainly lead the mind to expect also a member between 8a and 8b, parallel to the second and fourth in verse 7; and the disappointment due to its absence is heightened by the fact that perfect parallelism is found again between the last two stichoi of the stanza, 8b and 8c. That a stichos "neither (is there any) end to their images" (or "their altars") has fallen out seems far easier of belief than that Isaiah, without any conceivable reason, deliberately built up a structure perfect in its symmetry excepting for this one point. The intent at parallelism is made all the more evident by the last clause, "that which their own fingers have made," which is absolutely superfluous except as furnishing a desired parallel—and, perhaps, rhyme, since the rhyme *ōthāw* is noticeable (cf. 1.21). If in the missing line there stood the form *'açç^{e}bhōthāw* (lit. "his injuries," "pains," used because of the rhyming feminine ending instead of, and as a play in true Isaianic fashion on *'^{a}çabbāw:* "his idols"), there might be found here the source of Ps. 16.4: *yirbū 'açç^{e}bhōthām,* "their sorrows shall be multiplied [that] hasten [after] another [god]," in which the intention is evidently: "their *idols* multiply or "they multiply their idols," "they hasten," etc. The word *maçç^{e}bhōthāw,* "his pillars," if preferred, would contain the same rhyme. It is true that if the last clause (8c) be omitted, as a gloss on 8b, the latter might be regarded as the parallel to 8a; but 8b contains nothing that would be made more intelligible by such a gloss as 8c; as stated above, the latter is clearly a parallel. In 31.7 there seems to be an echo of this passage, and there a similar relative sentence appears in parallelism, and so in verse 20 of this chapter (see the note on Is. 1.21). Finally, the fact that the second stanza, the one which seems the best preserved, contains just ten lines as will the first stanza if the proposed line be added, is an important consideration from the standpoint of the present studies.

Chapter 2

> 9–11. (9a) And the mean man boweth down, (b) and the great
> man humbleth himself: (c) therefore forgive them not. (10a) Enter
> into the rock, (b) and hide thee in the dust, (c) for fear of the
> Lord, (d) and for the glory of his majesty. (11a) The lofty looks
> of man shall be humbled, (b) and the haughtiness of men shall be
> bowed down; (c) and the Lord alone be exalted in that day.

Verse 9ab is a variation of 11ab, the thought and the im-
portant verbs being identical; the same theme and words occur
again in verse 17; while the phrase "therefore forgive them not"
is replaced in 11c by "and the Lord alone be exalted in that
day," which appears also in verse 17.   Verse 10, with slight
verbal variations also occurs twice again (verses 19, 21).   That
either verse 9 or verse 11, in such close proximity, is out of
place here, is evident to any believer in the possibility of text
corruption.   There is some doubt, however, whether one is mis-
placed, or whether it is superfluous; on the supposition that the
poem contains three stanzas, the former hypothesis seems most
likely.

There is difficulty still in verse 9 in the phrase "therefore
forgive them not."   Literally it means "and do not raise for
them," and might form the third (negatively expressed) par-
allel to the couplet "The mean man boweth down and the great
man humbleth himself," and correspond to the similar third
parallel ("And the Lord alone be exalted in that day") in the
other recurrences of this refrain.   But then at least we should
expect the wording "and there shall be no raising up for them,"
we-'ēn se'eth lāhèm; for this sudden change in the attitude of
Isaiah, in addressing God and praying against pardon, is almost
incomprehensible.   The phrase is probably, in origin, the mar-
ginal comment of some reader (see verse 22), or the reconstruc-
tion by a copyist of an illegible reading such as suggested above;
however, there is no danger of doing violence to the spirit of
Isaiah if the stichos "and the Lord alone be exalted in that
day" be substituted for it.

In verse 10 *bō'*, "enter into," but lit. "go in," is rhetorically
weak, when viewed either alone ("go in[to] the rocks") or,
more particularly, with the parallel *hiṭṭamēn,* "hide"; in 7.19,

where *bō'* is used in a somewhat similar phrase, it is given more
definiteness by its immediate connection with another verb, to
which it is little more than an auxiliary. Even in prose the more
emphatic word *hēχābhē'*, ''hide,'' would be used in such a con-
nection, and especially in the variations of the refrain (verses
19 and 21: ''go into the caves'') where the parallel line has no
verb at all to give greater force to ''go.''   For a prose example,
compare Shabbath 60a: *hāyū neχbā'īn bam-mᵉʿārā*, ''they hid
themselves in the cave''; more significant is Rev. 6.15, which,
quoting Isaiah approximately, chooses ''hide,'' not ''enter'';
but if *bō'* does represent a mutilated *hēχābhē'*, in verse 10, it
is necessary to suppose editorial revision in the two other occur-
rences of the root, in the repetition of the refrain.   On the other
hand, if *bō'* is original, it may have been chosen because of its
extreme brevity (and of its assonance with *baç-çūr*), and the
force of the phrase would be best reproduced by omitting the
verb, and translating simply as an exclamation: ''Into the
rocks!''

   The parallelism between *paχadh*, ''fear,'' and *hādhār*,
''glory,'' in verses 11, 19, 21 is worthy of notice also; the latter
word possibly replaced in the course of tradition or of edition
a better parallel, *χerdath*, ''terror''; otherwise *hādhār* means
here not glory, but rather the result of God's glory: man's rev-
erence and awe (see the note on *sārā*, 1.5).   The parallelism
between the simple preposition in *mē-hᵃdhar* and the compound
mip-pᵉnē would give to the latter its ordinary meaning after
verbs of fleeing (''from [before],'' with the added idea of
cause), and prevent the more literal translation ''from the face
of'' (i.e., ''from the terrible countenance of,'' as the passage is
sometimes translated).   The phrase ''lofty looks'' (lit. ''eyes of
loftiness'') in verse 11 apparently represents a conflation of
varying forms in which this refrain was handed down; the word
''eyes'' here makes the line long, has no parallel in the other
half of the couplet, is not found in verse 9 or in verse 17, and
is followed by a singular instead of the necessary plural predi-
cate.   Another version of the refrain is found (possibly out of

place), in 5.15; there "eyes" occurs in correct grammatical con-
struction, but *'ādhām,* "man," is omitted, so that the line is
of proper length: *wᵉ-ēnē gᵉbhōhīm tishpàlnā.*

Two strophes of the three which compose the refrain are in
characteristic form again: each with two stichoi in close par-
allelism, and a third stichos in more distant parallelism to either
and to both (cf. 1.2); the double occurrence of the form makes
for perfect symmetry, which is further reënforced by the recur-
rence of the refrain as a whole.

> 12–16. (12a) For the day of the Lord of Hosts (shall be) upon
> every (one that is) proud and lofty, (b) and upon every (one that
> is) lifted up, and he shall be brought low; (13a) And upon all the
> cedars of Lebanon, (that are) high and lifted up, (b) and upon
> all the oaks of Bashan, (14a) And upon all the high mountains, (b)
> and upon all the hills (that are) lifted up, (15a) And upon every
> high tower, (b) and upon every fenced wall, (16a) And upon all
> the ships of Tarshish, (b) and upon all pleasant pictures.

On the structure of the stanza, ten lines, the first one long,
see 6b above. The absolute regularity in the recurrence of
the phrase "upon all" (ten times), is conclusive evidence that
Isaiah did not avoid symmetry; the literal repetition is effective
just because the words are used in perfect parallelism, each time
with identically the same meaning and in the same syntactic
construction; it must be distinguished from that sort of repe-
tition that was discussed above in connection with 1.6 and 7.

The parallelism of the stanza as a whole, however, is broken
in 12b by the antonymistic phrase (word) "and he shall be
brought low," *we-shāfēl,* or, disregarding Massoretic vowels,
"and (upon every one that is) low," *we-shāfāl;* the Septua-
gint read (or corrected) the whole stichos thus: "and upon
everyone that is proud and haughty," *nisgābh wᵉ-nissā'.* The
slip in the Massoretic text, another example of substituting for
a word the antonym (cf. above), was probably due to the pres-
ence of the offending word in verse 11. Another probable error
is the insertion in verse 13 of the phrase "high and lifted up,"
hā-rāmīm wᵉhan-nissā'īm, which repeats the adjectives distributed
between the two halves of verse 14, but places them together, so

as to modify one word "cedars" by two adjectives, leaving the parallel "oaks" without any. The adjectives are redundant from the stand-point of line length; and also from that of thought; because in this verse modifying adjectives have already been replaced by modifying proper nouns: "cedars of Lebanon" and "oaks of Bashan." Evidently a varying tradition of this verse read "cedars high and oaks lifted up"; the variant was indicated simply by writing the words "high and lifted up" in the margin; and was then inserted intó the middle of the phrase by a later copyist (see on 1.14), who, perhaps, placed the two adjectives together because cedars are usually characterized as "high" while oaks are rather "broad" and "sturdy." But the oak might also well be a symbol of height. In verse 15, it is true, "wall" also is characterized as strong ("fenced," i.e., "fortified"); but again the fact that Isaiah in his introduction to his list specifically speaks of all things "high and tall"; that down to this point all objects come within that category, as do "ships of Tarshish" in the next verse; but more particularly that in this verse the immediate parallel is "high towers," makes it far more likely that the familiar phrase "fortified wall" (cf. Deut. 28.52; Jer. 15.20) has by error replaced an original "high wall," χōmā nisgābhā, a phrase found in Is. 30.13 and containing a synonym for "high" that has not yet appeared among the many used in this passage.

More troublesome is the concluding line of the stanza, "and all pleasant pictures," *kol- seḳīyōth ha- χemdā,* parallel to "all the ships of Tarshish," and in which *seḳīyōth,* "pictures," is a ἅπαξ λεγόμενον. If the phrase were in itself one which justified the breaking of the series of "high" (at least "big" and "sturdy") parallels—e.g., if it were particularly emphatic, or expressed clearly a summary ("objects" instead of "pictures") —there might be reason for believing it correct here; but the summary has been indicated at the beginning; and "pleasant" ("desirable") is by no means a term which might in a summary be applied to the objects here enumerated. The Septuagint reads: "every aspect (θέαν) of ships of beauty"; the insertion

of ''ships'' may have been due to a very unusual attempt to
establish the missing parallelism, or to the fact that a word for
''ships'' really stood in the margin.   The Targum Jonathan
paraphrases the whole couplet thus: ''upon those who live in
the islands of the sea and who dwell in beautiful palaces,''
bīrānyāthā shappīrān; Jewish commentators translate: ''palaces
paved with precious stones'' (because of Lev. 26.1, where occurs
the phrase ''image of stone,'' lit. ''stone of picture'' [*maskīth,*
from the same root as *s^{e}kīyōth*])—all of which indicates only
the difficulty in accepting the illogical line as it stands.   Failing
better explanation, recourse might again be had to the theory
of misplaced lines.   With the meaning ''precious images''
accepted on the basis of those passages in which *maskīth* occurs
(e.g., Prov. 25.11, ''silver carved images''; more particularly,
referring to idolatrous worship, Num. 33.52; Lev. 26.1; Ezek.
8.12) and those in which $\chi emdā$ and other words from the same
root are found (e.g., Hos. 13.15: $k^e l\bar{\imath}$ $\chi emdā$) the line belongs
naturally in the defective and mutilated third stanza.   At the
same time it is necessary to assume another line in its place
here, one referring also to ships, parallel to ''ships of Tarshish.''
''Tarshish,'' like ''Lebanon'' and ''Bashan'' above, takes the
place of a common adjective, as it does in all the cases in which
the phrase ''ships of Tarshish'' is used: ''able to go to Tarshish,
to foreign shores,'' a ''large foreigner.''   Unfortunately, no
exactly parallel phrase is to be found in Isaiah; but in 33.21
occurs *çi 'addīr,* ''majestic ship,'' as the opposite of ''row-boat.''
Çī itself is apparently a foreign (Egyptian) word, hence its
connotation might again be ''foreign ship''; and if this phrase
be an acceptable emendation here, compare in verse 6 of this
chapter the parallelism between the proper name ''Philistines''
and the common noun ''strangers.''

> 17. (a) And the loftiness of man shall be bowed down, (b) and
> the haughtiness of man be made low (c) and the Lord alone be
> exalted on that day.

See the note on verses 9–11 above.   Possibly the rest of the
refrain should be repeated at the end of stanza 2, from the end
of stanza 1 (verse 10).

CHAPTER 2

> 18–19. (18) And the idols he shall utterly abolish. (19a) And
> they shall go into the caves of the rocks (b) and into the caves of
> the earth.

On verse 18 see below, the note to verse 20; on 19, see verses
9–11 above.

> 20. (a) On that day a man shall cast his idols of silver, (b) and
> his idols of gold, (c) which they made each one for himself to wor-
> ship, (d) to the moles and to the bats.

The long first line here, with a parallel (20b) only to the
object, has the appearance of being the first line of a stanza
parallel to the other two stanzas. The phrases "his idols of
silver" and "his idols of gold," and "which they made (each
one) for himself to worship" echo the phrases of the first stanza
(verses 6–8); the parallelism (as against subordination) of the
relative clause here is fixed by 2.8, where grammatically it can-
not be subordinate; possibly for *'āsū,* "they made," the singular
should be read, or the subject "hands" be inserted as in verse 8.
Such an echoing of words, recalling here, along with the picture
of man's contempt for his treasures, the previous picture of his
worship of them, would be an effective piece of Isaianic sarcasm
—particularly if the picture here were as complete in its detailed
enumeration as is stanza 1 (cf. also 3.18ff.). What the missing
phrases might have been can only be conjectured; verse 16b,
it was suggested above, was probably one of them: *sᵉkīyōth
ha-χemda,* "precious images." Still another, in a corrupt form,
perhaps, appears now as verse 18: "his idols he shall utterly
abolish." The word translated "abolish," *yaχᵃlōph,* is suspicious;
it occurs frequently in this conjugation, but as an intransitive,
and only with such subjects as wind, flood, days, rain, heavens
(and once, God)—always, then, in reference to what does not
have definite form and where the root meaning "change" or
"pass on" can still be felt; the causative (active) conjugation
of the verb preserves this root idea even more clearly ("to
change the form of condition," or "renew a former state").
On the supposition that the stichos, written in the margin, was
very illegible and was "edited" to make a complete proposition
because of the mistake in the place of insertion, we might read

Chapter 2

for $ya\chi^al\bar{o}ph$ a parallel to ha-$\chi emd\bar{a}$, e.g., ha-$\chi ephe\varsigma$ ("desire,"
supposing a change of ς to l, and its transposition; and the sign
of the imperfect instead of the article). In $k\bar{a}l\bar{\iota}l$, "entirely"
(here the only occurrence of the word as an adverb) there might
be found $k^el\bar{e}$: the phrase $k^el\bar{\iota}$ $\chi emd\bar{a}$ is found in Nah. 2.10; Hos.
13.15: "vessels of desire" (A. V. "pleasant vessels") ; Jer. 22.28:
$k^el\bar{\iota}$ $\bar{e}n$ $\chi ephe\varsigma$ $b\bar{o}$, "vessels wherein is no pleasure"; particularly
I Sam. 6.8 and 15, $k^el\bar{e}$ haz-$z\bar{a}h\bar{a}bh$, "jewels of gold," referring
to the "images" of mice in verse 4.   With $h\bar{a}$-$'el\bar{e}l\bar{\iota}m$ $k^el\bar{e}$ ha-
$\chi ephe\varsigma$ in apposition to verse 20, the thought would run: "they
shall cast away their idols of silver, and their idols of gold—the
gods they have made with their fingers—their precious thing-
gods." $H\bar{a}$-$'el\bar{e}l\bar{\iota}m$, however, might be a mere gloss, or might
represent another synonym hap- $pes\bar{\iota}l\bar{\iota}m$, "idols," or "images."

The phrase "to the moles and the bats" in the Massoretic
text and the English is made the indirect object of "cast," from
which it is removed by quite a lengthy clause, however.   The
scene pictured by this connection is hardly a logical one.   It
seems most likely that the Prophet pictured the idolators casting
away their idols when the terror comes upon them, and fleeing
from them—not carrying them along with them to the caves and
the "holes in the ground," as would seem to be necessary if
they cast them to the moles and the bats; for surely he did not
mean to imply that moles and bats were found about the homes
of the wealthy.   At best, if the connection is correct, the trans-
lation should be "cast them away *for* the moles and the bats,"
which, supposedly, are to take possession of the palaces and
estates after these have fallen into ruins.   Targum, Peshitta
and Septuagint connect differently: "the idols which they make,
in order to bow down to vanities (A. V. 'moles') and bats";
i.e., the idols themselves are the "vanities and bats." . Still
another interpretation would be possible: "they shall cast aside
their golden idols, in order to bow down to moles and bats":
i.e., to bend before them as they crawl into the caves—which
would be another example of Isaiah's grim humor.

None . of these interpretations, however, fulfils the require-

CHAPTER 2

ments of the type of parallelism used in the other stanzas. The
verb "cast away" does not necessarily have an indirect object;
cf. Ezek. 20.7: "Then said I unto them, Cast ye away (*hasklīkhū*)
every man the abominations of his eyes, and defile not yourself
with the idols of Egypt"; and it is perhaps significant that
Is. 31.7, which seems to quote our present verse, paraphrases
simply: "On that day every man shall despise (*yim'as:* A. V.
"cast away") his idols of silver and gold which your own hands
have made unto you (for) a sin." Perhaps, then, the prepo-
sition "to," *le*, in *laxpōr pērōth wela-'atallēfīm* is at fault:
notice the five prepositions in succession "to (for) himself to
worship, to the moles and to the bats, to go" of which only two
are parallel. If for the preposition in the case of the two nouns
there stood originally the article *ha,* these words might be addi-
tional parallels, and refer to carved amulets in animal form.
So at a later epoch Ezekiel in his vision (Ezek. 8.10) pictures the
elders of Israel offering incense to "creeping things and beasts,
abominations [*sheqeç*]" (among which is included the bat in
Lev. 7.21), and all the idols of the house of Israel, "every man
in the chambers of his imagery" (*maskīthō*, the word to which
reference was made above in connection with *sekīyōth*); in
Isaiah, the reference would be to the ornament talismans brought
from Egypt by way of Philistia. It may even be possible that
χ*aparpārōth,* which the Massorites did not recognize, since they
divided it into two words, and which is a ἅπαξ λεγόμενον found
nowhere in the Semitic languages (though its root, "to dig,"
supports the Vulgate "mole") is the Egyptian *khepra* or *kheper-
per,* "beetle" and "scarab"; and some of the scarabs with out-
stretched wings might easily have been mistaken for figures of
bats. The detailed enumeration still lacks two lines even if this
hypothesis is correct, or one, if the quadriliteral *'atallēphīm* and
the reduplicated form χ*aparpārōth* might be considered as sep-
arate stichoi (so also, possibly *rōmamtī* in 2.2 if *bānōth* be not
inserted, and *'aqalqallōth* in Judges 5.6). It is hardly possible
to find traces of the remaining missing lines below, in the super-
fluous verse 22.

Chapter 2

> 21. (a) To go into the clefts of the rocks, (b) and into the
> tops of the ragged rocks, (c) for fear of the Lord, (d) and for the
> glory of his majesty, (e) when he arises to shake terribly the earth.

See above on verse 10. In "to go," *lā-bhō,* the preposition
might be temporal (cf. Is. 7.15, *lᵉ-dhaʻ tō,* "when he knoweth") :
"when he enters," "as he enters." It is more probable, how-
ever, that the whole verse belongs at the beginning of the stanza,
in the imperative or infinitive absolute, as in verse 9.

> 22. (a) Cease ye from man, whose breath is in his nostrils, for
> wherein is he to be accounted of ?

This verse is quite distinct in tone from the rest of the
chapter, though verbal connection is established by *hā-'ādhām,*
"man"; but "man" who is rebuked throughout the three
stanzas is presumably Israel as a whole, including those to whom
the prophecy is delivered or addressed, while here the audience
is addressed as though standing apart from "man" who is re-
buked; the absence of any vocative also is noticeable.

The term "cease from" is obscure. It would normally mean
"cease paying attention to," "do not trouble" or, less fre-
quently, "desert" (Ezek. 2.7 : "refuse to hear"). With the first
meaning the verse would sound rather like the remark of a
reader, wearied with the contemplation of man's perversity;
and in such an interpretation might be compared with the
interjected remark in verse 9, "do not forgive them." If the
meaning is "desert," the implication would supposedly be: do
not trust (any longer) in man (but turn to God). In either
case there is felt the absence of a parallel verb defining "cease
from" more clearly.

The second member of the verse: "whose breath is in his
nostrils," is in the English given an emphasis which it has not
in the Hebrew, which is: "in whose nostril is breath" or "a
breath." This relative clause is again of interest from the stand-
point of parallelism : if it is of the same nature as the relative
clause in verse 20, i.e., parallel, the sense is: "Cease from man,
the creature who is characterized by having a breath in his
nostrils"; but if it is subordinate, the sense is: "Cease from

that man in whose nostrils is breath," i.e., from man who is alive, or while he has life (cf. Job 27.3, "as long as my breath is in me, and the spirit of God is in my nostrils: i.e., "as long as I live"). It is the former that is intended here, of course, but in either case the emphasis is upon man as a* *living* being; cf. Gen. 7.22: "all in whose nostrils was the breath of life"— every living thing. To give the words any point at all here, it is necessary to place upon them an emphasis and implication which they do not clearly express; either: "whose breath *is in his nostril*" (*and easily passes away*), or "who has in his nostrils *only* a breath"; or, "whose breath *was placed* in his nostril *by God, who can therefore take it away.*" Perhaps if the last line also were considered a parallel: "who is of little account," the idea of the transitoriness of man's life might be emphasized. But if it was Isaiah who was trying to express this thought, surely he would have chosen words as clear as those in Job 34.14: "if he (God) gather unto himself his spirit and his breath, all flesh dies"; or in Ps. 104.29: "Thou takest away their breath, they die." Furthermore, even granting the implication of the words, man's mortality, the whole verse is still illogical here. Instead of "Trust not in man, who is mortal," the context demands: "Cease from man, who is idolatrous and vain." If Isaianic (against which the style argues) the verse was placed here by the compiler possibly because he thought it formed a transition to the next chapter, where, however, the subject again is not man's mortal nature, but his transgression and punishment. The Septuagint omits the verse.

Chapter 3

1–3. (1a) For behold, the Lord, the Lord of Hosts, doth take away from Jerusalem and from Judah the stay and the staff, (b) the whole stay of bread, (c) and the whole stay of water. (2a) The mighty man and the man of war, (b) the judge and the prophet (c) and the prudent and the ancient. (3a) The captain of fifty and the honorable man, (b) and the counsellor and the cunning artificer, (c) and the eloquent orator.

In form and development of theme this stanza is, on the whole, like the middle stanza of the last prophecy: a long first

CHAPTER 3

stichos (1a), with the following short stichoi parallel to its last
syntactic member; a first couplet or strophe stating the theme
in general terms, while the remainder elaborates it is in a specific,
exhaustive enumeration.   But in some respects as the text
stands, the general form is obscured.   In the first place, the
opening line is over-long; though ''Jerusalem'' and ''Judah,''
''stay'' and ''staff'' are clearly two pairs of parallel terms
(cf. verse 8) they are not distributed in parallel stichoi; but
with proper distribution ten stichoi result.   Secondly, the coup-
let ''whole stay of bread and whole stay of water,'' repeating
one of the words used in the preceding line, adds qualifying
genitives (''bread and water'') clearly contradicting the quali-
fying appositives in the following stichoi, whose implication is
that ''staff and stay'' are the supports of the government, not
the supports of human life.   At the same time it must be noticed
that in the second portion of this chapter there is a combination
of the two themes of want and anarchy (cf. also 4.1).   It is quite
possible, then, that these two lines have replaced another couplet
which was more appropriate to the theme of ''government,''
while they themselves belong to another stanza which, in a series
of phrases repeating the framework of ''every stay of bread and
every stay of water'' (cf. the framework of 2.12ff.), developed
the prediction of famine, thirst, dearth of clothing, and similar
misfortunes.

Thirdly, the detailed enumeration of the members of the
official class is not in all respects logically arranged at present;
the English, in translating *qōsēm* (lit. ''diviner'') as ''prudent,''
conceals the disorder.   By transposing the terms *yō'ēç,* ''coun-
sellor,'' now in 3b, and *qōsēm,* ''diviner,'' now in 2c, logical
order is reëstablished in the beginning and end of the enumera-
tion; for the last pair of terms also apparently refers to species
of diviners, instead of to ''the cunning artificer and the eloquent
orator'' as the versions translate.   Another difficulty in the text
lies in the fact that ''captain of fifty,'' *sar χ^amishshīm,* as a mili-
tary term stands between two terms referring to civil life:
zāqēn ū-n^{e}sū' phānīm, ''the ancient,'' and ''the honorable'' (cf.

Is. 9.14, a possible gloss, but nevertheless showing the natural
order of these terms). "Captain of fifty" is, of course, a com-
mon term; but the suspicion aroused by its unusual position
here justifies the question why a military title denoting this
subordinate rank was singled out, rather than one of more gen-
eral application or at least referring to higher rank (*sar çābā'*,
sar χayil, sar 'elef, sar mē'ā, etc.); it is as though one should
group together in a general denunciation "soldiers, judges, sena-
tors, magnates and subcaptains." Possibly, then, *χᵃmishshīm*
was a misreading of some form of the root *nāχash*, e.g., *mᵉnaχēsh*,
or *yōdhēᵃ' nāχāsh* or *nᵉχāshīm*, "skilled in divination," in-
tended to be inserted together with *qōsēm* alongside of *χᵃkham
χᵃrāshīm* (read singular?) and *nᵉbhōn laχash*. This assumption
would leave *sar*, "noble," "ruler," or "chief," in its usual gen-
eral signification, and in a natural position (cf. verse 14: "the
elders and princes of his people"). Moreover, there would
then be ten stichoi again (including 1bc or two others in place
thereof).

> 4. (a) And I will give children [to be] their princes (b) and
> babes shall rule over them.

For the English "babes," and the Septuagint "mockers"
(possibly reading the root *lā'agh;* so also in 66.4), the Masso-
retic text has *ta'ᵃlūlīm*, which might come from any one of four
different roots with identical consonants and denoting respec-
tively "act severely," "insert," "glean," and (a denominative
verb) "play the child." To the hearer, then, the word did not
necessarily by itself convey clearly and singly any one of these
ideas; it is absolutely certain, however, that here because of the
parallelism it must at least have included the last named (by
paronomasia, if "wantonness" is the primary intention); and
this is further evidenced by 3.12, where *mᵉ'ōlēl* is clearly a
denominative from "child"; evidently the intention in the two
passages is identical. *Ta'ᵃlūlīm* is in form an infinitve or
abstract; it is here parallel to a concrete; it occurs again only
in 66.4, as an antithesis to another abstract *shikkūçīm;* but both
are there used in place of concretes: "their soul delighteth in

CHAPTER 3

their abominations [used regularly for "idols"]; I also will choose their wantonness" (A. V. "delusions"; i.e., that which or those who will delude them, or deal cruelly with them); it is not impossible, indeed, that despite its form the word may have had a concrete signification: compare the development of *talmīdh*, "teaching," then "disciple."

> 5–6. (5a) And the people shall be oppressed, every one by another, (b) and every one by his neighbor; (c) the child shall behave himself proudly against the ancient, (d) and the base against the honorable; (6a) when a man shall take hold of his brother (b) (of) the house of his father.

Intended in this set of parallels is a detailed explanation of the anarchy predicted in verse 4; the parallelism is clear as between the various parts of verse 5 (a to b, c to d, and ab to cd; but in form, a more closely to c, and b to d); stichos 6a, despite the fact that it begins with *kī*, "for" (A. V. "when"), is also parallel to 5a and 5c; the *kī*, then, should be translated as a climactic "yea." The stichos *bēth 'ābhīm* (6b) is difficult, even if translated "in the house of his father"; for in breaking the parallelism it becomes especially emphatic, but emphasizes an unimportant detail, with an emphasis which is all the greater because of the contrasting phrase "in my house" in 7c. The suggestion offered by parallelism is that 6b should represent a climax: indeed "father" is the climax of one set of terms: man, neighbor, ancient, honorable, brother; *bēth*, "house," then, is probably an error for *bēn*, "son," the climax of the contrasting series: "yea, a son (shall seize) his own father."

> 6–7. (6c) Thou hast clothing, (d) be thou our ruler, (e) and (let) this ruin (be) under thy hand. (7a) In that day he shall swear, saying (b) I will not be an healer; (c) for in my house (is) neither bread nor clothing: (d) make me not a ruler of this people.

The absence of any word introducing the direct discourse in 6c, contrasted with the long introductory line (7a) to the discourse beginning in 7b is noticeable; particularly the phrase "in that day," which elsewhere is always properly emphatic, is here emphasis misplaced, in the middle of a scene instead of at the beginning or end; it adds nothing to the picture-prophecy

that "on the very day" of being asked the man shall answer.
If retained, the line, as in other cases, is an "aside."

The phrase "thou hast clothing" also is without any parallel.
But the reference to clothing here anticipates and so spoils the
suddenness of the climax in 7c; and, on the whole, the picture
of two brothers unaware of the condition of each other's affairs
—one affirming, the other denying, that he has clothing—is
rather absurd.   Moreover, the reply in 7a is one to a remark
concerning rather food than clothing as the more important fac-
tor. By the omission of 6c ("thou hast clothing") and by the
reference of the conversation to each of the pairs mentioned in
the previous verses, not alone to the two brothers, the picture
becomes clear and the emphasis properly placed; the stanza is
then seen to contain two characteristically Isaianic turns.   Up
to this point he has pictured a condition of anarchy as it would
normally be; and the mind of the hearer naturally assumes that
the attempt of every man is to wrest the power to himself. But
then comes the turn to the thought: each man seeks not to gain
power, but to thrust it upon another.   The second unexpected
factor lies in the reason for the refusal of the kingship: the lack
of a piece of bread (the garment is comparatively an unim-
portant matter, and reference to it might be omitted without
weakening the sense: it is included only for the sake of par-
allelism.)

The irony in the situation thus revealed is made clearer by
the grim humor of the pun in the word "ruin," *makhshēlā* (lit.
"stumbling block") for "rule," *memshālā;* the meaning is fixed
by the parallel "be thou our ruler."   The play is carried fur-
ther by the use of the word χōbhēsh: from the root "to bind,"
it means both to dress wounds (here those of the injured state)
and to rule (cf. Job 34.17: "shall even he that hateth right
govern?" *yaχᵃbhōsh;* this meaning is derived probably from that
of "harnessing," "restraining"); again the primary thought is
made clear by the parallelism between χōbhēsh and *qᵉçīn*
("ruler").   The offending clause *simlā lᵉkhā,* "thou hast [lit.
"to thee is"] clothing," possibly had its origin in a marginal

Chapter 3

mamlākhā, ''rule,'' a true gloss on *makhshēlā,* or in a conflation of that marginal word with an original *l^ekhā* (''come'': i.e., ''come, ruler shalt thou be over us'') ; notice that *l^ekhā* is written with the final *h.*

> 8–9. (8a) For Jerusalem is ruined (b) and Judah is fallen, (8c) because their tongue and their doings are against the Lord (d) to provoke the eyes of his glory. (9a) The show of their countenance doth witness against them, (b) and they declare their sin as Sodom, (c) they hide (it) not.

Possibly the first *kī,* ''for,'' should be omitted; notice the same word introducing the next sentence (8c: A. V. ''because'') ; 8a, b does not express the cause of the fact of ruin, but of the author's use of the term *makhshēlā* in the previous stanza; i.e., it is explanatory; if retained, the first *kī* might be translated ''yea,'' or ''indeed.''

From the standpoint of parallelism the strophe 8c–9 is not always clear. On the whole, it emphasizes not the sin which has led to ruin but the brazenness, the lack of shame, with which the sin was committed. This is the note struck by the opening word ''their tongue''; and it is repeated in the third line by ''their faces''; in the fourth, by ''they proclaim, they do not conceal.'' The second stichos, ''to provoke the eyes of his glory,'' though it is not clear, is not out of harmony with the main theme, ''impudence of the tongue''; the only word, then, that clearly adds a variant idea is ''their deeds'' in the first stichos (8c). Criticism, then, should be directed toward this word.

As a matter of fact a double subject in one sentence, when not paralleled by a similar construction, is always suspicious; this is true even if the double subject consists of synonyms; but when one of them expresses an added idea it becomes by contrast lame. Moreover, the construction is extremely awkward; literally: ''their tongue and their deeds (are) toward the Lord.'' It is perhaps more than a coincidence that the Septuagint evidently did not read the word *ma'al^elēhem* ''their deeds,'' though it is in itself a common word; nor is its substitution,

μετὰ ἀνομίας, clear enough to lead to the conclusion that it changed purposely to make better sense.   Perhaps, then, its text really contained a form of the root *'āwal*, and *me'awwelā*, "act wrongfully," should be read; this denominative participle occurs in Is. 26.10; and the root is fairly frequent in connection with "tongue" and "speech" (Job 5.16, 6.30, 13.7, 27.4; Mal. 2.6; Ps. 107.42; Is. 59.3: *leshōnekhem 'awlā thehghe:* "your tongue hath muttered perverseness"; and for the use of the preposition *'el*, compare Is. 32.6: *le-dhabbēr 'el 'adhōnai tō'ā*, "to utter error against the Lord"). *Ma'alelēhem* was possibly due to the same word in verse 10, or to marginal notes referring to both passages; for another suggestion regarding the suffix *hem*, see below.

In 8c the phrase "to provoke the eyes of his glory" is more difficult than the English reveals; literally it is: "to rebel against the eyes of his glory."   The expression is unique; the nearest approach to it is found in Ps. 106.33: "they rebelled against (defied) his spirit" (cf. Is. 63.10); but the spirit ($rū^aχ$) of God, like the "glory of God," in a way stands for God himself, which the "eyes" do not.   Parallelism suggests that "eyes" belongs in a series of subjects: "tongues," "eyes," "faces"; i.e., it is men's eyes that rebel against his (God's) glory; compare Is. 5.15: "the eyes of the lofty [i.e., proud] shall be humbled." The change requires merely the addition of the suffix *hem*, "their," to "eyes"; it is this very suffix which is superfluous (*ma'alelēhem*) in the line above, if our surmise there is correct; the word "eyes" is written defectively in the Massoretic text (without its medial *y*), and the Septuagint also points to illegibility, reading "their glory has been brought low," possibly *'ānā* or *na'nā* (with final *h*) *khebhōdhām* instead of *'ēnē khebhōdhō;* this again contains the letters *h* and *m*.   The slight additional change of *lamrōth* to *mamrōth* (i.e., participle instead of infinitive: so the Septuagint reads ἀπειθοῦντες, "disobedient") restores a perfectly normal, intelligible, parallel line: *we-mamrōth 'ēnēhem kebhōdhō* (or, if the error arose from the fact that *'ēnēhem* was misplaced and then written in: *we-'ēnēhem mamrōth kebhōdhō*).

CHAPTER 3

In stichoi 8c and 8d the parallelism is clearly established by the verbs "witness" (but literally "answer," "speak": '*an^etha̅*) and "declare"; and though the subject of "witness," namely "show," *hakkarath*, is not entirely clear, the underlying thought in both stichoi is undoubtedly "their guilt is plain to all." Since then the verb *hikke̅r* has sometimes the meaning "recognize," "acknowledge," the phrase may well mean: "the acknowledgment (i.e., acknowledging look) on their faces," which, in turn, is equivalent to "the impudent look on their faces." It is a linguistic coincidence that *hakkarath* might, on the other hand, be derived from *ha̅kar*, which in Arabic denotes both "to be sleepy" and "to be astounded"—hence possibly in origin "to have a fixed look," and here "an impudent look"; in Job 19.3, where the same root appears, a translation "ye are shameless," or "shamelessly, brazenly, persistent, toward me" would be possible.

The extreme brevity of 9c, "they hide not," a stichos parallel to 9b, may be due to the fact that it is the last line of the stanza. However, it is possible that, parallel to "like Sodom," "like Gomorrah" should be inserted; indeed, the absence of reference to Gomorrah would be striking and apparently significant; compare Is. 1.9, 10, 13.19; Amos 4.11, Jer. 23.14, 49.18, 50.40; Deut. 29.22, 32.32, as against only Lam. 4.6, and Ezek. chapter 16, in the last of which the particular nature of the reference precludes the addition of Gomorrah.

> 9–11c. (9d) Woe unto their soul! (e) for they have rewarded evil unto themselves. (10a) Say ye (to) the righteous that (it shall be) well (with him); (b) for they shall eat the fruit of their doings. (11a) Woe unto the wicked! (b) (it shall be) ill (with him): (c) for the reward of his hands shall be given him.

While in some details the text here is obscure, the parallelism is fairly evident. It is clearest in the following stichoi: 9e, "for they have rewarded evil unto themselves"; 10b, "for they shall eat the fruit of their doings"; and 11c, "for the reward of his hands shall be given him." Of the remaining three main clauses two, 9d, "Woe unto their soul" and 11a, "Woe unto the wicked," are also clearly parallel, while the middle one in

the series, 10a, "say ye (to) the righteous that (it shall be well) with him," though in thought antithetically parallel, is in form not clearly parallel; on the other hand, one member of this clause "that (or 'for') well" seems to be parallel to the one word in the stanza not yet accounted for, "ill," in 11b; which would then require, however, the insertion of the word "that" (or "for") before it.

But the clause 10a : "Say ye the righteous that [or 'for'] well" is a stylistic, if not grammatical, impossibility; and it is just here, also, that the text underlying the Septuagint varies again : "saying, let us bind the just for he is burdensome to us." This, perhaps, represents a conflation of marginal glosses, in which *lē'mōr,* "saying" (lit. "to say" or "in saying"), is a variant of *ne'esar,* "let us bind" (written with the sibilant *sin* instead of *samekh*), and both arising out of an original *'ashre,* "happy!"   This would then restore the middle clause in the series to form parallelism : "happy the righteous, for," etc.

However, there is also a minor grammatical variation in parts of these verses, in that 9d, 9e, and 10b are in the third plural, while the remaining clauses are in the singular; the clauses in the plural are consistent with the preceding stanza in this respect, and, moreover, refer directly to the particular sinners treated there; the clauses in the singular are in the nature of general reflections, contrasting the lot of the wicked and the righteous : they are probably marginal additions suggested by such texts as Ps. 128.2 : "Happy shalt thou be and (it shall be) well with thee"; or if by Isaiah, they have been wrongfully placed here.   "Woe to their souls, for they have laid up evil for themselves, yea, the fruit of their deeds shall they eat" is a complete and consistent two line strophe, a fitting close to the section verses 1–9.

> 12. (a) (As for) my people, children (are) their oppressors, (b) and women shall rule over them. (c) O my people they which lead thee cause thee to err, (d) and destroy the way of thy paths.

The first couplet (12a, b) repeats, in general, verse 4, but the wording in 12a is not entirely clear; literally : "my people,

CHAPTER 3

its oppressors [plural] plays the child [singular].'' Aside from
the grammar, there are here expressed two thoughts: the
rulers are oppressors, and they are childish (or perhaps ''are
wanton'') ; it is possible, however, that *nōgh^esāw*, ''oppressors,''
has the more general meaning here ''rulers,'' as it has in Zech.
10.4, and as the parallelism with ''rule,'' *māsh^elū,* in verse 12
might suggest. The natural force of parallelism to *nōgh^eshāw*
in the meaning ''oppressors'' has led Targum, and possibly the
Septuagint, to read in place of *nāshīm,* ''women,'' in 12b, *nōshīm,*
''creditors''; both versions, also, understand *m^c'ōl^elīm* to mean
''gleaners'' (see, on the root, verse 4b), fitting in admirably
with their understanding of *nōshīm:* ''thy creditors, or those
that collect the taxes from thee, glean thee, strip thee clean'';
and notice that in verse 14 the figure of the vineyard reappears.

Another suggestion is offered by Amos 2.8, where one of the
sins of Israel is again described as ''drinking the wine of the
condemned [lit. ''mulcted'': *'^anūshīm*] in the house of their
God.'' The Septuagint in this Amos passage translates *'^anūshīm*
by συκοφαντιῶν, usually representing the Hebrew *'āshaq* (''ex-
tort'' or ''oppress'')—a word occurring frequently in refer-
ence to the despoilers of the poor although it is not found at all
in the earlier Isaiah. Now, in the present Isaiah passage the
Septuagint has πράκτορες, ''exactors,'' ''tax-collectors,'' or ''pun-
ishers'' in the first stichos and ἀπαιτοῦντες in the second; but the
latter is the usual translation (see 9.3, 14.4; also in other books)
of *nōgh^esīm,* and there may be represented here a transposition
of the two words, so that πράκτορες is rather the translation of
its reading for *nāshīm:* possibly of *nōshīm* (so Aquila and Theo-
dotion to Ps. 109.11; against this they have in Is. 60.17 πράκτωρ
for Hebrew *nōghēs* and Septuagint ἐπίσκοπος), or, since in 24.2
nōshè is more exactly ὀφείλων, probably of another word, *'ōn^eshīm*
(''mulcters,'' ''punishers''), the root found in Amos. At all
events attention should be paid to the parallelism between
m^e'ōl^elīm and *nāshīm;* since here ''children'' (if this be the cor-
rect interpretation of the root of the former word) is avoided and
a denominative substituted, ''play the child,'' it is probable that

nāshīm, "women," if correct, is to be taken figuratively instead of literally; i.e., "effeminates," "weaklings," as in Jer. 50.37, 51.30: "the mighty men of Babylon have become women"; a formal denominative from *nāshīm,* parallel to *me'ōlelīm,* was almost impossible because of the peculiar nature of the word.

The change from third person in 12a, b to second in 12c, d indicates one of two facts: either that the two couplets do not belong together here, one being then a stray couplet inserted on the margin because of its similarity to the other; or that the second is a more impassioned form of the first, and parallel to it in theme; this would confirm the figurative, not literal, signification of *nāshīm* in verse 12b. The root of *me'ashsherēkhā,* "they that lead thee," if not a variant of *yāshar,* "be straight," at least suggests it; cf. Prov. 9.15: *ham-meyashsherīm 'orχōthām,* "those making straight their paths"; so that the contrast between *meashshrēkhā* and *math'īm* ("cause thee to err"; root "deviate") is exceedingly nice. At the same time the word *'ashūr,* "footsteps," is suggested in *meashsherēkhā,* establishing a closer parallelism with "way," "path" in the following stichos (12b).

The use of *billē'u,* "destroy" (lit. "swallow"), parallel to *math'īm,* "pervert," is striking; one expects *'iqqeshū* (Is. 59.8; Mic. 3.9), *hiṭṭū* (Ps. 125.5; Prov. 17.23), or *'iwwū* (Is. 24.1; cf. *he'ewū,* Jer. 3.21). The same parallelism, however, occurs in 9.15; and with other forms of the root *bāla',* in 28.7, where in addition to *nibhle'ū* and *tā'ū* occur *shāghū,* "swerve," "reel," and *pāqū,* "reel," "totter" (cf. Ps. 107.27: "they reel to and fro, and stagger like a drunken man, and their wisdom is swallowed up," *tithballa'*); and in 19.3 *'aballēa'* is parallel to *wenābheqā,* translated "fail," but in its turn parallel both to *'iwwā,* "twist," or "distort," and *bālaq,* "lay waste," in 24.1. In some of these passages it is almost impossible to find anything of the idea "to swallow" in *bāla'.* It is true the metaphor "swallow up the road" occurs in Arabic, of a horse that runs swiftly; but in the present passage such a striking figure would seem to be possible only if the other half of the parallelism

Chapter 3

offered another aspect of the same figure or else an equally strik-
ing one.   The passages cited referring to drunkenness might
suggest here the figure: They that should lead thee straight
cause thee to reel (like drunken men) and they swallow your
paths (like wine) ; in 28.7, with a characteristically Isianic twist:
"they stagger with strong drink, they are gulped by [instead of
'they gulp'] wine."   But in 19.3 the phrase "I shall swallow
up their counsel" is put in the mouth of God; and in Ps. 55.10
occurs: "Swallow, Lord, their tongue"—a violent anthropo-
orphism which in neither case is confirmed by parallelism.   It
might be possible to urge that the word *bāla'*, in the figurative
sense "destroy," was so common that it might have been used
without suggesting the literal meaning at all; but this is not a
satisfactory explanation in the case of Isaiah, especially in view
of its frequent parallelism to "pervert," "twist."   It would be
tempting, then, to find a second root *bāla'* in Hebrew, corre-
sponding to the Arabic *balagha,* but with the opposite meaning,
"miss the goal," instead of "reach the goal"; there are, of
course, many such Semitic words of two contrary meanings.
Failing this, we are forced to accept *bala'* as a sort of parono-
masia on *balal,* "confound," "confuse," or of popular etymology
based on a false extension and application of the primitive
biliteralism of Semitic roots.

> 13–14b. (13a) The Lord standeth up to plead, (b) and standeth
> to judge his people; (14a) The Lord will enter into judgment (b)
> with the ancients of his people and the princes thereof.

The parallelistic repetition of "my [his] people" in 12a, 12c,
and 14b shows that the Hebrew "peoples," *'ammīm,* in 13b is
an error for *'ammō,* "his people," read by the Septuagint and
English.

There is a peculiar order of words in 13a, b: while the predi-
cate participles *nissābh* and *'ōmēdh,* "stand," and the infinitives
la-rībh, "to plead," and *lā-dhīn,* "to judge" are in parallel
positions respectively, in 13a the subject, "the Lord," is in
parallel position to the object, *'ammīm,* "people," in 13b. Quite
possibly the unnatural order in 13a should be changed: in either

case the omission of the object in this verse is noticeable; it is supplied first in 13b—an example of restrictive climactic parallelism, which is rare in Isaiah; another step in the climax is seen in 14a, where the object is further restricted by modifiers: the Lord will judge; he will judge his people; the Lord will judge the people's rulers and princes.

This third line of the stanza is comparatively very long, though perhaps not longer than 1.6a, for example; nevertheless, the absence of other tristichs in this prophecy might lead to suspicion as to this one.   Distich formation is barely possible:

> The Lord rises to plead and stands to judge his people;
> The Lord enters into judgment with his people's elders and princes.

Here the double predicate in one stichos might find its balance in the double object ("elders and princes") of the second. As a quatrastich the passage would offer three parallel lines and then a fourth line consisting apparently merely of a prepositional phrase; this would be the first example in Isaiah of such a stichos, containing a proposition neither complete in itself, nor yet parallel to another incomplete proposition like itself as it would be if the text read (cf. 4.4):

> The Lord stands to plead
> And rises for judgment,
>> With the ancients of his people,
>> With the princes of Judah.

This may, indeed, have been the original form of the prophecy. As the text stands, finally, since the fourth line does contain a term parallel to (identical with) one in the second ("people"), it is possible that owing to the climactic structure, the mind supplies before its fourth stichos a repetition of the verb, thus:

> The Lord standeth up to plead
>> And standeth to judge his people,
> The Lord will enter into judgment
>> [And plead] with the ancients and princes of his people.

14–15. (14c) For ye [lit. "and ye—ye"] have eaten up the vineyard; (d) the spoil of the poor (is) in your houses. (15a) What mean ye (that) ye beat my people to pieces, (b) and grind the faces of the poor? (c) saith the Lord God of Hosts.

Chapter 3

The abrupt passage to the direct discourse is again noticeable, but not unusual (cf. 3.6). The emphatic *we-'attem,* "and as for you," is, however, almost unique at the introduction of a discourse, for it usually marks a contrast or an especial emphasis upon the subject; so even in Ps. 2.6 where it again occurs at the beginning of a speech the contrast and emphasis are clear as between the first person plural in the speech of the kings of earth and the first singular in the speech of God. Moreover the reference to the vineyard in Is. 14c is abrupt; one expects at least "my vineyard" (contrast chapter 5 with its careful elaboration of the figure of the vineyard); the definite article is very noticeable; indeed, it is this probably that led the versions to find a previous reference to a vineyard (see above, the note to verse 12). On the other hand 15a begins with a phrase which is characteristically the introduction to an indignant direct discourse: "What mean ye," etc. (lit., "what to you"; cf. 1.11, also 22.1, 16). Possibly, then, the two couplets should be transposed; the pronoun *we-'attem* would then be either merely parallel to the suffix in *lākhem,* or would be explicative: "in that ye have eaten" (lit. "ye having eaten the vineyard"); or the contrast becomes: "my people are in poverty, while you, the leaders, have their spoil in your houses." Following (and parallel to) "my people" and "the poor," the figurative meaning of "vineyard," and its definiteness, would become clear.

But in 14c *gᵉzēlath hē-'ānī,* "spoil of the poor," is suspicious because of the repetition of "the poor" in 15b; read *hā-'ᵃnābhīm,* "grapes," parallel to "vineyard" (cf. Mic. 2.2, where *gᵉzēlā* is used in reference to fields). And as a parallel to "plunder," *bī'ēr,* "eaten up," probably for Isaiah had still what seems to have been its primitive meaning, "glean," with the connotation "strip"; so, too, in the parable of the vineyard in 5.5, this translation is more fitting than "destroy" or "burn" (cf. *bāçar* in this sense, Judges 9.27). In 15a *tᵉdhakkᵉ'ū,* lit. "pulverize," is an excellent parallel to *titχānū,* "grind in the mill"; compare Num. 11.8, where *dūkh,* another derivative from the biliteral *dakh,* is parallel to *ṭāχan.* Notice, then, the complementary par-

allelism of metaphors between 14c, d and 15a, b (grapes and corn).

> 16. (a) Moreover, the Lord saith, because the daughters of Zion are haughty, (b) and walk with stretched forth necks (c) and wanton eyes, (d) walking and mincing as they go, (f) and making a tinkling with their feet.

There is some difficulty in identifying the form of this stanza. 16b, literally "stretching [or turning] their necks and ogling their eyes," in itself contains two parallel terms; but separating into two stichoi would make lines of irregular length because of "and they walk," *wat-tēlakhnā*. Curiously, *wat-tēlakhnā* occurs again in the very next stichos (translated "as they go"), not parallel, but in a subordinate clause; in addition to this stylistic fault, it is syntactically suspicious, for in the idiomatic construction represented by *hālōkh weṭāphōph tēlakhnā* (lit. "a going and tripping they go") the position of the finite verb is normally before the infinitives (except in Jer. 50.4, where, however, there is at least no repetition of the verb). In the Isaiah passage the Septuagint again differs just where parallelism points out a weakness; it reads in stichos d τῇ πορείᾳ τῶν ποδῶν: "with motion of the feet"; and that this is not an intentional variation to avoid repetition is shown by the fact that the Septuagint has again τοῖς ποσὶν, "with their feet," in stichos f (cf. the repetition of μάχαιρα in 3.25). Possibly, then, the text was not clearly in order; if the second *tēlakhnā* (stichos d) be omitted, *hālōkh we-ṭāphōph* would be a circumstantial accusative infinitive phrase dependent upon the first *tēlakhnā*, and parallel to the circumstantial participles in b and c and to the circumstantial imperfect in 16b (cf. the probably similar parallelism in 8.8); or if the first *tēlakhnā* be omitted, the participial phrases *neṭūwōth 'gārōn* and *mesaqqerōth 'ēnayim,* "stretched forth of neck and wanton of eyes," modify the main clause in stichos a just exactly as *mecʿūph çūqā* and *'aphēlā menuddaχ* modify the main clause in 8.22.

The Septuagint further inserts a stichos: ἅμα σύρουσαι τοὺς χιτῶνας: "together with a dragging of their garments in trains"

CHAPTER 3

—a line so strikingly apt that it seems necessary to regard it as based on an original reading; perhaps *ū-miṭpᵉχōthēhem tisχabhnā* (συροῦμεν is *sāχabh* in II Sam. 17.13).

In 16f occurs *tᵉʿakkasnā;* the translation "making a tinkling" depends upon the noun *'ᵃkhāsīm* (sing. *'ekhes*) in verse 18, translated "anklets." The root occurs again in Hebrew only in Prov. 7.22, where *'ekhes,* however, if correct, certainly does not mean "anklet"; indeed, this translation is very dubious (see below); it rests upon secondary Arabic connotations of a root meaning "to reverse": "to put a halter on a camel"—but in such a manner that the idea of turning or twisting (either the rope or the camel's head) is included; hence *'ikās* is the rope with which such tying is done, and perhaps sometimes simply "a hobble." But the jump from this meaning in Arabic to that of a "metal anklet worn by a woman" in Hebrew, and still further to a denominative verb denoting "to make a ringing sound with such anklets," especially since the word occurs nowhere else, is a far one. The Targum *marghᵉzān,* "provoking to anger," read perhaps a root *kā'as* for *'ākas;* the Septuagint παίζουσαι, "sporting," also challenges the translation, and is evidently nearer to the intention of Isaiah. In Job 21.11 προσπαίζουσιν is the translation of *rāqadh,* "run with leaps and bounds"; but it might also represent the Arabic *rakaḍa,* "move the feet," which would be in Hebrew *rākaç,* if found, or possibly *rākas* (the matter of sibilant shift especially in rare words is not clear yet); and the fact that *'akasa* and *rakasa* in Arabic are synonyms, if not variants of one and the same Semitic root, suggests further possibilities in the present Hebrew of Isaiah. At any rate, the Arabic *rakaḍa* means not only "to dance," but also "to kick the skirts of the garment and the anklets with the feet," *bi-rijlaiha;* and it is the motion made in a peculiar manner of walking that Mohammad evidently prohibited when he said (Sura 24.31): "let them not strike with their feet, so that these ornaments of theirs that be hidden be made known." It is true that here again, in this Sura, commentators generally introduce the word "anklets" after "strike" and then cite it as a support of the

translation ''anklets'' in Isaiah; but while in both places such
a reference may be included, it does not lie in the words used:
the Arabic *ḍaraba,* ''strike,'' here means ''strike out,'' ''wave,''
and can be said of the arms as well as the feet or legs; and the
''ornaments'' (again supposed to be ''anklets'') are properly
interpreted by Savary when he translates: ''Let them not move
about their feet so as to allow those charms to be seen which
ought to be veiled'' (i.e., their physical charms; compare Ezek.
16.7 [though the Massoretic text has been questioned] : ''thou
art come to excellent ornaments [*'aḏhī 'aḏhāyīm*] : (thy) breasts
are fashioned, and thine hair is grown.'' Further parallels to
the present stanza are furnished by the Arabic; thus, Burton
(translation of the *Thousand Nights and a Night,* IV, 16) writes
that the Bedui ''compares the gait of a woman who walks well
with the slightly swinging walk of a thoroughbred mare, bending
her graceful neck and looking from side to side at objects as she
passes.'' In Night 243, a man impersonating a woman is directed
to walk so as to advance one shoulder before the other, and sway
the hips (*qaddim as-samāl wa-'akhkhir al-yamīn wa-hazz al-
'arādif*) ; in Night 134: bend the body from side to side in step-
ping (*tamāyul fī l-khaṭawāt*) ; Night 198 (Breslau edition):
''trail the skirts and sway to and fro.'' Especially significant
is the phrase (see Lane s.v. *'akasa*) : *ta'akkasa fī'l-mishyati,*
''move like a viper [lit. twist oneself] in his gait,'' with exactly
the root found in the Isaiah passage, where perhaps ''twist with
the feet'' may stand for ''with the hips''; compare the more
general (euphemistic) use of ''feet,'' as in Is. 7.20 (see further
on *'akāsīm* below).

> 17. (a) Therefore the Lord will smite with a scab the crown
> (of the head) of the daughters of Zion (b) and the Lord will dis-
> cover their secret parts.

Sippaχ, ''smite with a scab,'' is supposedly a denominative
from *sappaχath* (with the heavier sibilant), ''scab''; as such
it is not found again in the Old Testament.   The Septuagint
varies: its ταπεινώσει, ''humble,'' might represent either *shāfēl* or
shaχ; and its ἀρχούσας might represent a marginal variant *rāshē,*

CHAPTER 3

"heads," for *qodhqōdh,* "crown." *Sippaχ* is, indeed, suspicious
because of the parallel stichos, in which, however, there is the
difficult *pothhēn,* translated "their secret parts," but not found
elsewhere; the Septuagint has *σχῆμα,* "form" or "appearance,"
which, while it might be merely an avoidance of the difficulty,
might readily represent a reading *shīth* (in Prov. 7.10 this word
is translated *εἶδος,* "appearance," "form"); hence possibly the
original reading was *shethhēn,* which occurs in Is. 20.4: "so
shall the king of Assyria lead away the Egyptian prisoners and
the Ethiopians captives, young and old, naked and barefoot, even
with their buttocks uncovered," *χᵃsūphē shēth,* an expression
of grief and shame at the same time (see Wellhausen, *Reste
arabischen Heidenthums,* p. 177, note 3, for a reference to the
uncovered buttocks in mourning). At any rate *yeᶜārè,* "dis-
cover," in this stichos suggests a parallel in the preceding: the
very word found in Is. 20.4, *χāsaph,* with a mere transposition of
the consonants of *sippaχ;* in Is. 47.2 again occurs "uncover thy
locks (veil), make bare the leg, uncover the thigh" (lit. "train":
χaspī shōbhel); here then *weᵉ-χasaph qodhqōdh,* "will lay bare,
uncover, the crown." The verb *sāphaχ* of the Hebrew, on the
other hand, is used by Isaiah in 5.7 in quite a different sense:
"shed, pour out"; and in 14.1 (with the heavier sibilant and
hence apparently even closer to "scab") in the meaning "join,"
"attach," where the parallel (*lāwā*) leaves no doubt as to which
particular *sāphaχ* is meant; while in 5.7 the word is chosen for
its paronomasia. It is fairly clear, then, that Isaiah would not
have used the ambiguous *sāphaχ* here without a parallel to make
it clear. And if the line from the Septuagint regarding the
trailing cloak be restored, the revised reading "lay bare the but-
tocks" offers just that prophecy of poetic justice which the
Semitic feeling demands: instead of the cloaks trailing behind
there shall be nakedness of buttocks; on the thought compare,
besides Is. 47.2, Jer. 13.22: "thy skirts (train) are discovered."

It is possible that this couplet is only the fragment of a larger
stanza introduced by *lākhēn,* "therefore," the omission of which
word (it is supplied in the English) is unusual; for the formula

ya'an kī, "because that," occurs again in Is. 3.16, 7.5, 8.6, always with some correlative in the apodosis. An easy change, however, of *we-sippaχ* into the imperfect *yᵉsappēᵃχ* would yield a normal construction; and possibly the couplet is to be joined directly to verse 24.

> 18–23. (18) In that day the Lord will take away the bravery of (their) tinkling ornaments (about their feet), (their) cauls, and their round tires like the moons, (19) and the chains, and the bracelets, and the mufflers, (20) The bonnets, and the ornaments of the legs, and the head-bands and the tablets and the ear-rings, (21) The rings and nose-jewels, (22) The changeable suits of apparel, and the mantles, and the wimples, and the crisping pins, (23) The glasses, and the fine linen, and the hoods, and the veils.

There is no reason for regarding this list of terms as non-Isaianic; the very wealth of detail makes its own appeal and effect (cf. 2.12, for instance), although it is possible that this stanza is misplaced (see the note at the end of the last stanza) and formed part of chapter 2, or a similar poem, referring to the proud luxury of women as that does to the pride of men; the introductory words "and on that day the Lord will take away" would then be a similar line to 2.12 or 2.20 ("and on that day man shall cast away," etc.). Whether this be so or not, there can be no doubt that there is some disorder in the list of objects enumerated. As the text stands there are twenty-one objects instead of twenty, making if coupled in pairs the frequent ten line or five couplet stanza. Some of the apparent confusion may be due merely to misunderstanding of certain terms in the list; among them are several not found elsewhere; and the specific meaning of terms for clothing is subject to change in the course of time. The objects enumerated in the list have been divided into two (or three) groups: articles worn on the head and those worn on the rest of the body (or ornaments for the head; those for the rest of the body; garments); this is a natural order; in 16, and again 17, first head and then feet are mentioned. But in any case *'ᵃkāsīm,* as usually translated, English, "tinkling ornaments about the feet," disturbs the order, and there seems to be no reason why just the anklets should be thus emphasized as a sign of pride or of immodesty.

CHAPTER 3

It has been supposed that '*ªkāsīm* was placed at the head of the list just because *t*'*akkasnā*, "tinkle," was the last mentioned act in verse 16; but see on that word the note above.   The Targum translates "sandals," *m*'*sānayā;* but whether this was merely a guess; or represents a different reading again: *n*'*ālīm* (cf. Is. 5.27, 11.15) ; or is based on '*akas* and '*aqas,* "twist," or "plait" (sandals were sometimes made of woven-work; and *m*'*sā'nā* means also "basket"), it is difficult to say.   Later Jewish commentators attempt an etymological justification by describing them as sandals made of the skin of the viper, '*ekes,* a word which Rashi cites also in connection with *t*'*akkasnā:* "they stamp with their feet and give signals to young men in the market place, to arouse in them evil desire like the poison of the asp, '*ekes,*" which later Hebrew word, however, seems to be only the Greek ἔχις.   At any rate neither etymology nor tradition justifies "anklets."   The Septuagint evidence is not certain; its fourth term, μηνίσκους, is the Hebrew third, *sah*ª*rōnīm* (cf. Judges 8.21, 26) ; its third, κοσύμβους, is the Hebrew second, *sh*ᵉ*bhīsīm* (cf. Ex. 28.14, 25, 39, with *ç* for *s* in the root) ; therefore the Greek second, ἐμπλόκιον, might be the Hebrew first, '*ªkāsīm:* the Greek means "braid, fashion of wearing a woman's hair," which is the exact meaning of the Arabic '*iqāç* (here again there is a not unparalleled confusion of '*akas, akaç, 'aqaç, 'aqash,* etc., cf. Hebrew *çaχaq, saχaq,* and Arabic *daχika,* "laugh," where gutturals and emphatics again are the cause).   The Greek first term *imaτισμοῦ* would then be an insertion, or else might represent a doublet of '*ªkāsīm* in the form *m*ᵉ*kassīm* ("garments" in Is. 23.18).   In other words, the text was not certain; and it seems quite probable that the troublesome '*ªkāsīm* was itself originally merely a dittography or variant of the following *sh*ᵉ*bhīsīm* (notice that the older commentators associated it with *shabaç,* "weave" or "plait"), or had its origin in a marginal reference to the *t*'*akkasnā* above.   Without it there are just twenty terms, the first pair of which becomes *hash- sh*ᵉ*bhīsīm w*ᵉ*has-sah*ª*rōnīm,* "ornaments in the form of suns and moons" (so several modern commentators) ; if '*ªkāsīm* be retained, it should be translated,

with Jewish commentators, "braids," or "plaited ornaments of the hair," forming a pair with *sh͏ᵉbhīsīm*, in the sense 'hair-net or hair ornament.''

The fourth term in the Hebrew, *n͏ᵉṭīfā*, corresponds to the fifth in the Greek, κάθεμα (the root *nāṭaf* means "drop," "pour" in Arabic; and so καθίημι "let fall," also "pour"); but for the fifth and sixth of the Hebrew (*shērōth w͏ᵉhā-r͏ᵉʻālōth:* "chains" and possibly "veils," though the latter, from *rāʻal* to "quiver," shake," might mean "bangles''; according to Maimonides, "little bells''), the Septuagint apparently has the one phrase κόσμον τοῦ προσώπου αὐτῶν. "ornaments of their face''; possibly, however, this represents only *r͏ᵉʻālōth,* while *shērōth* is either dittography in the Hebrew and to be omitted (if *ʻ͏ᵃkāsīm* above is retained) or is the extra term which the Septuagint has between the present twelfth and thirteenth of the Hebrew. The Hebrew and Greek seventh thus correspond: *p͏ᵉʼērīm,* which later means "turbans," but which apparently was taken by the Septuagint in a more general significance, "ornament," closer to the root, and translated τὴν σύνθεσιν τοῦ κόσμου τῆς δόξης, "a combination of glorious ornaments'' (so in 61.3 *p͏ᵉʼēr* is δόξαν); and the eighth *ç͏ᵉʻādhōth* is χλιδῶνας (cf. Num. 31.50; II Sam. 1.10), "armlets''; the ninth *qishshūrīm,* from the root "to bind" may well be the corresponding ψέλλια, which in Gen. 24.22 and Ezek. 16.11 translates *ç͏ᵉmīdhīm,* "bracelets," also from a root "to bind" (though in Jer. 2.32 *qishshūrīm* is στηθοδεσμίδα, "bound" specifically on the breast). The correspondence between Hebrew and Greek is again certain in the thirteenth: *nizmē hā-ʼāph* and ἐνώτια, "earrings''; but the twelfth Greek, περιδέξια, seems to be either an insertion or a transposition, since the Hebrew twelfth *ṭabbāʻōth* is clearly the Greek eleventh δακτυλίους, "finger rings'' or "seal rings.'' The Hebrew tenth, *bāttē han-nephesh,* and eleventh, *l͏ᵉχāshim,* then, represent either the Greek tenth alone, ἐμπλόκιον or the tenth and twelfth, περιδέξια. Unfortunately both Hebrew terms are not found elsewhere; *bāttē han-nephesh* literally is "houses'' or "receptacles'' of the soul, and *l͏ᵉχāshīm* is "whisperings''; hence translated by Jewish commentators sometimes

CHAPTER 3

"ornaments worn over the heart [soul] and the ears" re-
spectively; by modern commentators "smelling bottles" and
"charms." It is curious that neither Septuagint nor Targum
shows any exact equivalent for the element *bāttē*, "houses,"
or "receptacles"; and that the Targum here has *qᵒdhāshīm*,
"rings," its translation of *'ᵃghīlīm* in Num. 31.50, where the
Septuagint has περιδέξια, the inserted or misplaced term men-
tioned above. This certainly points to a variant text. So, too,
the Targum χᵃlīṭāhā for *lᵉχāshīm* would seem to point to an
interpretation based upon a transposition of χ and *l* and a variant
ṭ for *sh;* while the Greek ἐμπλόκιον (used also above to translate
'ᵃkāsīm and in Ex. 39.15 for *'ᵃbhōth*, "interwoven ropes or
chains") might also represent a root χālaṭ, "mix"; for in verse 3
where *laχash* occurs again the Septuagint, like Jewish commen-
tators on verse 20, connects it properly with the ear, ἀκροατήν.
The omission of *bāttē* from the Septuagint is all the more strik-
ing because just below in verse 26 it translates *pᵉthāχēhā* by θῆκαι
τοῦ κόσμου ὑμῶν, in which θῆκαι might be *bāttē,* as in Ex. 25.27.
If, nevertheless, *bāttē nephesh* and *lᵉχāshīm* are correct, and the
latter refers to "whispering" charms, possibly *nephesh* represents
the Arabic *nafatha*, "blow" (or is a corruption of the Hebrew
nāphaχ in that sense), since blowing is also a medium of magic.

Beginning with verse 22 there is a series of names of gar-
ments, with the exception of χᵃrīṭīm and *gilyōnīm:* "purses"
II Kings 5.23 and the Arabic) and "tablets" (Is. 8.1) or "mir-
rors"; possibly the Targum *maχkayā*, however, may be based
on a reading χᵃrāṭīm, which occurs in the singular in Is. 8.1
together with the singular of *gilyōnīm:* "stylus and tablet"; but
the Septuagint either had a variant text or wilfully insisted on
logical order, for its series of terms for garments is uninter-
rupted; and so it would be possible to translate *gilyōnīm,* as
some modern translators do, by "transparent garments" (the
root means "to reveal"; Sept. διαφανῆ) or "fine garments,"
Arabic *jalwa*; while χᵃrīṭā might be the χᵃlīṭā which occurs in
the Targumic Aramaic in the meaning "precious garment."

It is not impossible that the Hebrew *çᵉnīphōth*, "turbans,"

CHAPTER 3

(A. V. "hoods"), is an error for ç*e‘īfōth*, "wrappers," from the root "to fold" or "double"; in Job. 29.14 the Septuagint translates ç*ānīph* by διπλοΐδι, showing the same error; and in the Jer. Targum *r*ᵉ*dhīdhā* (which occurs here in Isaiah with ç*enīfōth*), is a synonym of ç*a‘īph;* also ç*enāphā* is in the Targum "skirt." The Septuagint has at least one extra term in this group of garments; none of its words, however, seems to be ç*enīphā*, although this occurs again in Is. 62.3 and is translated διάδημα.

On the whole, then, the evidence points to uncertainty in tradition; and the probabilities of error in a list like this are so great that variations from symmetrical grouping should far more likely be ascribed to copyists or editors than to the author.

> 24. (a) And it shall come to pass that instead of sweet smell there shall be a stink; (b) and instead of a girdle a rent; (c) instead of well-set hair, baldness; (d) instead of a stomacher, a girding of sack-cloth; (e) (and) burning instead of beauty.

In this five line strophe the parallelism is maintained throughout, though in form the last line varies slightly, as is often the case with odd line strophes: the order of words is changed, and the line is short.   The versions read the fifth line differently and join it to the next verse.

The condition prophesied in the strophe is apparently one of mourning: this is clear from the reference to baldness and sack-cloth; to "rent" also, but the translation is faulty; while "stink" in the first stichos and "burning" in the last are doubtful.   But the word translated "stink" is *maq;* the root means "to decay": used of flesh, then, "to fester," but of plants, "to mould" or "turn to dust."   The latter is doubtlessly its meaning in 5.24: "their root shall be as rottenness," *māq,* made plainer by the parallel "their blossom shall be as dust," *’ābhāq;* so in Is. 34.4 the underlying figure in *namaqqū* is not the "festering" of the hosts of Heaven but their "decay" into mould or dust, and the figure is continued: "the host shall fall down as the leaf falleth from the vine"; notice that in the preceding verse (34.3) "stench" is the proper figure because human bodies are spoken of.   "Dust" is the meaning required in the present

stichos, since *bōsem,* "sweet smell," literally "balsam," "spice," is a vegetable product; the Septuagint translates κορνιορτός (which it uses for *'ābhāq* in 29.5); and so Is. 61.3, apparently based on this prophecy and reversing it, reads "beauty instead of dust," *pe'êr taχath 'epher;* and from an allied root comes *mūq,.* "dust" in Arabic. The thought, then, is: instead of using the normal product of the tree, its spice, they shall have only its mould or dust; this figure is all the more natural in that the "balsam" product was used in the form not only of ointment but also of spice, as incense.

Niqpā, "a rent," found in no other passage, comes from one of two roots meaning respectively "to strike off" and "to go round." The Targum and Jewish commentators choose the former and interpret "wounds," "bruises"; the Septuagint the latter, and translates "a rope"; the former is more apt with "scab" and "fester"; the latter with the figure of grief and captivity, and, of course, with its own immediate complement "girdle."

In 24c, *ma'ase misqshè,* "well-set hair," literally "work of *miqshè,*" is again difficult; *miqshè,* as a masculine noun, is ἅπαξ λεγόμενον; as a feminine it occurs apparently with the meaning "hammered metal work," hence the Septuagint here "golden ornament"; but the Targum "curling," "crimping of the locks," *'aqqāphūth pāthā,* is more apt. *Ma'ase* seems superfluous, then, since it always denotes "an object"; quite possibly it came from the margin; if it was intended to refer to this line at all (but see below) it probably indicated a reading *ma'aqāshā* or *ma'aqāsā* (*'āqash* or *'āqas,* "to twist": hence "braid") instead of *ma'ase miqshè.* Even today in the Arabic world to leave the hair unbraided is a particular sign of mourning.

The word translated "stomacher," *pethīghīl,* is an ἅπαξ λεγόμενον of such unusual form that if correct it may be a foreign word. However, since it is coupled with the compound phrase *maχaghōreth saq,* "girding of sack-cloth," *pethīghīl* may be the remnant of a similar phrase; in Is. 61.3, again, occurs *ma'atē thehillā taχath ruaχ kēhā:* "garment of praise for the spirit of

heaviness"; here possibly we should read then *ma'ªṭepheth gīl:*
"cloak of joy" (with *ma'ª* again from the superfluous *ma'ªsē*
just above).

Finally the word *kī*, "burning," in the last stichos is also
unique, although it is explicable as from the root *kāwā*, "to
burn," and it might be possible to understand "branding" in
a figurative sense, as referring to the lacerations which were also
signs of mourning (cf. Jer. 16.6; forbidden Lev. 21.5); but this
is inapt and unlikely, as is shown by the failure of the versions
to perceive it; Targum takes *kī* as the ordinary conjunction
"for," despite the unusual resultant construction; the Septua-
gint had possibly a disordered text; Targum, perhaps, also, since
apparently it read *yōphī* twice. *Yōphī*, "beauty," is a generic
term; it means perhaps as much "prinking," "beautifying," as
natural beauty, in the sense of Jer. 4.30, *tithyappī;* in *kī*, there-
fore, there should be some general term. In Is. 61.3 "spirit of
weakness" (*kīhā:* see above) may represent another reading of
kī, while the Septuagint ὁ υἱός σου is perhaps *bānayikh*, which
may have been a conflation of two variants *bᵉkhī* and *nᵉkhī*,
"weeping" and "smiting," of which the former would be most
appropriate here; weeping is mentioned with baldness and sack-
cloth in Is. 22.12, 15.3; and Job 16.16 (also with "dust" here),
where the Septuagint and Targum in translating instead of "my
face is reddened with weeping," "my face is foul with weeping"
show that disfigurement due to tears is a natural thought; and
in the *Thousand Nights and a Night* (788) the effects of much
grief and weeping are described in the phrase *taghayyarat
mahāsinuhu:* "his beauties (the beauties of the various parts of
his body) were changed." *Bᵉkhī* should be considered here even
without the support of the Septuagint ὁ υἱός, which is quite
possibly only a free translation of *mᵉthayikh* in the next verse.

> 25. (a) Thy men shall fall by the sword, (b) and thy mighty
> (lit. might) in the war.

The parallelism between the concrete noun "men" and the
abstract "might" is to be noticed; especially since the singular
feminine is left without a verb expressed, and must be made in

CHAPTER 3

thought subject of the third plural "shall fall"; otherwise the
couplet is normal. But that it does not form part of the previous
poem is evident. Not only is the enallage striking, but it implies
a previous personification of Zion as a woman (see particularly
the next strophe), instead of a literal reference to the women of
Zion. Again there is the significant coincidence that just where
internal evidence arouses suspicion the versions also seem to have
had an obscure text, the obscurity coming at the point of the
editorial or copyist junction of two prophecies, or addition of a
fragment of one to the end of another complete in itself. In
addition to the differences already noted, the Septuagint repeats
the whole phrase "shall fall by the sword" in place of the
Hebrew "in war"; but it also attaches to this verse the first
word of verse 26, w^e-'$ānū$, "shall mourn," but in the form
w^e-'$ānū$ ($ταπεινωθήσονται$: "shall be humbled"; cf. Is. 58.10); if
this actually was based on an original $tā$'$^anè$, "thy power shall
be humbled," cf. Ps. 102.23: "he weakeneth my strength," '$innā$
$q\bar{o}\chi\bar{\imath}$. The Septuagint also adds in the first stichos $ὃν ἀγαπᾷς$; and
it has been noted that the Targum also has an additional word
(a repetition of some form of $yōph\bar{\imath}$); aside from this the
Targum offers a better parallelism than the Hebrew: possibly
$gibbōrayikh$ and $m^eth\bar{e}$ $\chi\bar{e}l\bar{e}kh$, or $m^eth\bar{e}$ $gh^ebh\bar{u}r\bar{a}th\bar{e}kh$ and
'$ansh\bar{e}$ $\chi\bar{e}l\bar{e}kh$, were the original terms; if the missing $\chi\bar{e}l\bar{e}kh$,
"thy strength," stood in the margin, it is just possible that the
Septuagint $τοῦ$ $κόσμου$ $ὑμῶν$ of the next verse represents it in the
form $\chi ely\bar{e}kh$, "thy ornaments."

At all events, the annexing of verse 25 to 24 shows that the
prophecy of the latter was understood to refer to mourning for
the dead, and not to disease or other bodily suffering (e.g., not
to "scab" and "branding").

> 26. (a) And her gates shall lament and mourn; (b) and (she,
> being) desolate (lit. "purged," or perhaps "emptied"), shall sit
> upon the ground.

The test of parallelism shows in this strophe the following
facts: another enallage (third person, instead of the second as
in verse 25, which itself contains a change from verse 24); the

introduction of the word "gates," not only without a parallel
in stichos b, but obscuring the personification (Zion as a woman)
apparently intended in verse 24 and certainly present again in
stichos 26b; the presence of two synonyms for "mourn" in 26a,
paralleled perhaps by a participle and a finite verb in b, but the
parallelism as well as the metaphor obscured.   That these are
real difficulties is shown by the versions: the Septuagint changes
the third person to the second, has a different (though even less
appropriate) term in place of "gates," and translates, for
"purged" or "emptied," "left alone" (the English has "deso-
late"); the Targum attempts to adjust the personification by
translating "the gates of her city"; the English, by setting off
the pronoun "she" in an emphatic and contrasting position to
"gates," allows a double metaphor which to some degree glosses
over the Hebrew difficulty.   That the English here expresses
what should be expected in Hebrew becomes clear from a com-
parison with Jer. 14.2: "Judah mourneth, and the gates thereof
languish; they are black unto the ground; and the cry of Jeru-
salem is gone up": i.e., change in the syntactic form of the last
predicate requires a new and expressed subject.   Here then
we should expect: "Zion shall lament, and her gates shall mourn,
and Jerusalem shall sit disconsolate upon the ground": cf. Is.
19.8, where the same verbs as in 26a occur (distributed) in a
three line strophe: "the fishers also shall mourn, and they that
angle shall lament, and they that spread the net shall languish."

But there is here another possibility: aside from syntax,
"gates" in the first stichos is a thought parallel to "ground"
in the second; so Targum makes "ground" the subject of the
sentence; moreover, *pethaχ* is rather "doorway," "door" of a
house than "gates" of a city (Is. 13.2 is too obscure to be offered
in support of Isaiah's usage of *pethaχ*); but whether door or gate,
the couplet may have been: "and she (Zion) shall mourn and
lament at her doorway, and sit disconsolate upon the ground"
(or the second person is to be read throughout).   Of course,
"the gates shall lament" means the same thing; the objection is
to the involved metaphor and slipshod syntax.

Niqqāthā, English "desolate," is a fairly common word from a very common root; it means "purged," "freed from punishment," "exempted from obligation," "restored to innocency." Perhaps primitively the root meant "be empty"; and Isaiah may well be credited with a consciousness of this primitive meaning, but it is impossible that he used it with entire disregard of what its connotation must have been to his audience, especially since there is no parallel term to make clear the unusual intention. There might, perhaps, be found here another grim double or triple meaning: Zion "purified" through punishment and grief; "emptied" of her men; "divested" of her ornaments. But the reference to innocence is as out of place as it is inevitable in the present reading. Some word is required parallel to "mourn" and applicable to Zion both as a city and as a woman; perhaps *niχāttā,* literally "shattered" and figuratively "confounded," "dismayed," "abashed"; said of nations under divine judgment, of the ground, of people; cf. Is. 20.5, where this verb is used with *bōshū,* "be ashamed," which in turn in 19.9 is in the series: "mourn," "lament," "languish," "be confounded," "be broken."

Chapter 4

> 1. (a) And in that day seven women shall take hold of one man, saying, (b) We will eat our own bread, (c) and wear our own apparel; (d) only let us be called by thy name, (e) take away our reproach.

This verse belongs in thought with chapter 3 rather than with what follows here; its theme is still the dearth of men. But in method of presentation it differs from the last verse of the preceding, in which Jerusalem is personified, and attaches to the still earlier picture of the fate of the individual women (3.16). From another viewpoint, however, it resembles more clearly 3.6; there the rulership goes begging; here wifehood goes begging; and even the phraseology ("seizing hold," "garments," "food") is echoed. But the full development of the picture there, with its introduction leading to the climax, and its answer

Chapter 4

on the part of the man to whom the rule is offered, has no coun-
terpart here; and the conclusion is accordingly suggested that
4.1 is a mere fragment, owing its inclusion here to its reference to
women. The insertion of the words "on that day" (here not
as in the English and as is usual, at the head of the sentence,
but at the end) also points to a separation from what immedi-
ately precedes; though it may be editorial, since it is not found
in the Septuagint.

More significant is the fact that stichos a, introducing the
following quatrain, is not in parallelistic formation. There is
no indication, it is true, of what form a possible original par-
allelism may have had; the sentence is complete in itself.   It
may well be that the parallelism was strophic rather than stichic;
that another strophe, with a similar single stichos as introduc-
tion, balanced this one.   But the mere fact that the sense is
complete, is in itself no proof that there was not originally
stichos parallelism.   Notice in chapter 3.6 that the sentence
"For each one shall take hold of his brother" makes complete
sense; and that if the parallels in verses 4–5, as well as 6b, had
by accident been lost, there would have resulted a stanza as
complete as is our present one; only the inferences of the dom-
inating parallelism elsewhere would have suggested their loss.

In stichoi d and e the parallelism between "name" and
"reproach" is close because of the connotations of these terms;
the former sometimes means "honor," "fame," especially that
due to having sons (e.g., II Sam. 18.8), and is therefore the
opposite of the latter, "disgrace," "shame," "dishonor"; prac-
tically then here: "Give us honor, remove our honorlessness"
(that of widowhood and childlessness; cf., e.g., Is. 54.5: "thou
shalt not remember the reproach of thy widowhood; for thy
Maker is thine husband"; Gen. 30.23: "And she [Rachel] con-
ceived, and bare a son; and said, God hath taken away my
reproach").

Chapter 4

> 2. (a) In that day shall the branch (lit. "sprout," "growth")
> of the Lord be beautiful and glorious, (b) and the fruit of the earth
> (shall be) excellent and comely, (c) for them (that are) escaped of
> Israel.

The strophic formation in the prophecy contained in verses
2–6 is unusual. In this first stanza (verse 2) the stichoi a and b
are in normal parallelism; but the third stichos, *li-ph^elēṭath
Yisrā'ēl:* "for the escaped of Israel," is a dependent phrase,
standing outside the parallelism, and modifying either or both
of the stichoi a and b. Moreover, it would seem that it is a
necessary part of those sentences, that a and b are not logically
complete without it; this fact is obscured by the English, which
in translating *li-ç^ebhī ūl^e-khābhōdh* (lit. "for a beauty and a
glory") "beautiful and glorious" interprets the preposition as
in 1.5: "to" or "for sickness," i.e., "sick." Such a translation
here, "beautiful," is very seductive; but the idiomatic phrase
"be for a glory," or "beauty," in Hebrew seems always to be
followed by another dative (indirect object) in the sense: "be
a distinguishing mark for someone or something," "that which
distinguishes him in beauty or honor from all others" (cf. Ex.
28.2, 40; Ezek. 20.6, 15; Jer. 13.11). The underlying verse form
in this first stanza would then be the so-called *qīnā* strophe: a
sentence divided into two unequal parts by the caesura, which
parts are not of necessity parallel or syntactically independent;
i.e., omitting for the moment 2b: "In that day shall the branch
of the Lord be for beauty and glory—for the escaped of Israel."
But the first portion of the line in the present instance is doubled
by means of parallelism; such parallelism, within the syntactic
structure, might be called "suspensive parallelism"; cf. 5.24.
To a certain extent the same scheme predominates through this
whole prophecy; with this difference, that the modifying phrase
also is doubled by parallelism. The middle stanza (verse 4)
shows this formation best: the washing of the filth and blood of
Zion is expressed in a couplet; then the instrument or means of
washing is described in another shorter, dependent couplet; the
parallelism in this stanza is then perfect, and the question is
accordingly raised whether there is not missing from verse 2

a parallel to ''the escaped of Israel''—a question which perhaps receives its answer in the superfluous stichos of the next strophe (verse 3).

The parallelism in 2a and b between ''branch of the Lord'' and ''fruit of the earth'' is striking; one would expect, perhaps, for ''the Lord'' either ''the field,'' *has-sādhè* or ''the ground,'' *ha-'adhāmā* (Gen. 19.25; Ezek. 16.7). But evidently the parallel *hā-'āreç* means here not ''the earth,'' but ''the land,'' i.e., Palestine (as is clearly shown by the words Zion and Jerusalem), God's own land. There may still inhere in the phrase something of the Semitic phrase ''field, etc., of Baal,'' with Yahwè substituted for Baal; even though there be no necessity of insisting on the implication ''naturally watered'' fields and plants as contrasted with those watered by irrigation. At any rate Ps. 104.16 provides a similar interesting parallelism: ''the trees of the Lord are full (of sap), the cedars of Lebanon which he hath planted.'' On the thought of the fertility of the Messianic period compare Is. 55.12, 13: ''all the trees of the field shall clap their hands; instead of the thorn shall come up the fir tree; and instead of the brier shall come up the myrtle tree; and it shall be to the Lord for a name,'' etc. (cf. ''to the remnant of Israel for a glory''). The parallelism would seem to preclude here any reference in *çemaχ,* ''sprout,'' to a personal Messiah; contrast Jer. 23.5, where such a reference does exist, but both parallelism and elaboration are properly felt necessary to make it clear; of course, in a still later period such phrases might have in themselves had a fixed, conventional Messianic implication.

> 3. (a) And it shall come to pass (that he) that is left in Zion
> (b) and (he that) remaineth in Jerusalem (c) shall be called holy,
> (d) (even) every one that is written among the living in Jerusalem.

It can hardly be doubted that the strophic structure described above is intended in this verse; ''shall be called holy'' is the predicate to the double subject contained in stichoi a and b. But stichos d, ''every one that is written among the living in Jerusalem,'' placed after the predicate, is parallel in thought to stichoi a and b, though not even the English insertion

CHAPTER 4

of "even" before it saves it from awkwardness in its present
position; it is not good prose, still less good poetry; it has the
sound of a carelessly appended afterthought, and its repetition
of "Jerusalem" seems to place a special emphasis on that word,
in contrast to the other parallel "Zion" in stichos a—an em-
phasis that is evidently not intended. The style is so awkward,
indeed, that Septuagint and Targum both failed to see the true
syntactic relationship; Targum (also Jewish commentators)
reads each stichos as a separate proposition:. i.e., those that
are left (shall dwell in Zion); those that remain shall inhabit
Jerusalem; they shall be called holy; and those that are written
for life shall dwell in Jerusalem.

One of two opinions may be held in regard to stichos d:
either that tests of style must not be applied in textual criticism
of Hebrew, or that stichos d is misplaced. If the latter alterna-
tive be adopted, it should be noted that the phrase is a parallel
equally good, to stichos c in the previous stanza, "them that
are escaped of Israel"; perhaps "Jerusalem," moreover, is a
slip for "Judah," parallel to "Israel" (see above). It becomes
just as evident, then, that stichos d in verse 3 has taken the
place of a real parallel to stichos c: "shall be called holy," e.g.,
shēm 'ᵃdhōnai yiqqarē 'ālāw: "shall be called by the name of
the Lord," as in Deut. 28.10, a passage in close connection, as
in this one, with a description of the fertility of Israel's prom-
ised land; on the proposed parallelism compare Is. 61.6: "But
ye shall be named the priests of the Lord; ministers of the Lord
shall be called to you"; 62.12: "and they shall call them people
of holiness, the redeemed of the Lord."

> 4. (a) When the Lord shall have washed away the filth of the
> daughters of Zion, (b) and shall have purged (lit. "rinsed") the
> blood of Jerusalem from the midst thereof, (c) by the spirit of
> judgment, (d) and by the spirit of burning.

On the form of the stanza, see the comment on verse 2, above.
The personification of Jerusalem is stichos b indicates an error
in the text of a, where "daughters of," *bᵉnōth*, should either be
omitted or be read *bath*, "daughter of" Zion; i.e., Zion herself;

this alone fits the sequel, moreover; the error is one due to association with 3.7.

An interesting question of style and parallelism is involved in the metaphor used here. The phrase for "wash away the filth" used here is not a trite, conventional one; and the figure is enlivened in its freshness and vividness by the parallel in b, "rinse," $y\bar{a}dh\bar{\imath}^a\chi$, which occurs again only in Ezek. 40.38; II Chron. 4.6 (both literally), and Jer. 51.34 (figuratively, but possibly an error there; so A. V. "cast out"). Somewhat curious, then, is the means of washing: "the spirit of judgment [$r\bar{u}^a\chi$ $mishp\bar{a}t$], and the spirit of destruction." $R\bar{u}^a\chi$ $mishp\bar{a}t$ occurs in 28.6: "The Lord of hosts shall be ... for a spirit of judgment [i.e., justice] to him that sitteth in judgment"—an idea neither appropriate to the general context here nor supported by the immediate parallelism with "spirit of destruction." In verse 5 the cloud and lightning are definitely mentioned, and then the divine presence is represented as a refuge (for those who escape) from the flooding storm-rains; perhaps, too, it is the storm itself which is to result in the richness of growth predicted in verse 2. Evidently $r\bar{u}^a\chi$, then, in verse 4 is an element in the theophanic storm. Rashi interprets: "he rides upon the wind to judge them"; but 30.28 offers a better explanation of the imagery, if our text is correct: "his breath, $r\bar{u}^a\chi$, is like an overflowing stream." It seems quite probable, however, that the first $r\bar{u}^a\chi$ (stichos e) is an error due to the second (stichos d); and that a noun fitting better with the verb "rinse" stood here originally and formed a transition to the parallel "wind of destruction," or better, "of burning," whose heat is perhaps referred to in verse 6 (cf. also possibly 11.15, $ba'yam$ $r\bar{u}\chi\bar{o}$: "with the heat [? the versions have "might"] of his spirit" or "wind"). Parallel to $r\bar{u}^a\chi$ in this sense occurs in another picture of the storm, $zerem$, "tempest," 32.2; and the qualifying word in place of $mishp\bar{a}t$, parallel to $b\bar{a}'\bar{e}r$, might be $sh\bar{o}t\bar{e}ph$. On the whole picture compare Is. 28.2: "Behold the Lord hath a mighty and strong one, as a tempest of hail and a destroying storm, as a flood of mighty water overflowing"; 28.17, 18: "hail shall sweep

CHAPTER 4

away the refuge of lies, shall overflow the hiding place; ... when the overflowing scourge shall pass through.'' Compare also the parallelism in Ezek. 13.13, for instance: ''I will rend it with a stormy wind [$rū^a\chi$ $s^{e'}ār\bar{o}th$] and there shall be an overflowing shower [*geshem shōṭēf*] in mine anger.'' If the present prophecy is Isaianic, it would be peculiar, then, if just at the point where the words ''wash'' and ''rinse'' would lead one to find a reference to the destroying flood, such a reference should be lacking!

> 5. (a) And the Lord will create upon every dwelling place of
> Mount Zion, (b) and upon her assemblies, (c) a cloud and smoke
> by day, (d) and the shining of a flaming fire by night.

Again there can be no mistaking the nature of the stanza formation: a couplet of parallel stichoi, followed by another couplet, not syntactically complete in itself. In the first couplet, however, the first stichos is overlong, the second very short; as a matter of fact, in the phrase *kol m^ekhōn har Çiyōn,* ''the whole site [A. V. ''every dwelling place''] of Mount Zion,'' *m^ekhōn* is redundant: ''upon the whole of Mount Zion'' is perfectly normal, while in stichos b *miqrā'ēhā,* ''her assemblies,'' as can be seen from 1.14, Ex. 12.16; Lev. 23.4, etc.; Num. 28.18, is a noun of action, or a time noun, before which one might naturally expect such a word as *m^ekhōn,* ''site of,'' or ''place of.'' That the Septuagint felt the need of greater length is shown by the insertion of ''all'' again; but for *miqrā'ēhā* it read περικύκλω; if this is *mighrāshēhā,* ''all her surrounding territories,'' it perhaps points to an original *miqdāshēhā* or *miqdāshāh,* ''her sanctuary''; the latter appears in the Targum translation of the first stichos, while for *miqrā'ēhā* it reads: *'athar bēth sh^ekintō,* possibly ''place of his sanctuary'' (Heb. *m^eqōm miqdāshō*). This may or may not represent an uncertainty in the text; at the least it indicates an unconscious attempt at glossing over the stylistic defects pointed out. For a phrase *m^ekhōn miqrā'ēhā,* ''site of her assemblings,'' compare *m^ekhōn shibhtō,* ''place of his dwelling'' in Ps. 33.14.

Another possibility is that in the almost unintelligible clause appended to this stanza, *kī 'al kol kābhōd \chuppā:* ''for upon all

the glory shall be a defence'' (lit. a ''canopy,'' or ''chamber''),
the phrase *'al kol kābhōd* represents part of a variant to stichos
b, which is to be read: ''and upon all her assemblies (or
sanctuary) is his glory''; the word ''glory'' in a theophanic
connection is most apt to refer to Yahwè—is, in fact, a synonym;
and it is quite likely that in the present prophecy, as in other
theophanies, it is God himself who appears as, or in, the cloud;
compare Is. 60.2: ''The Lord shall arise upon thee, and his
glory be seen upon thee,'' *ū-kh^{e}bhōdhō 'ālayikh yērā'ē;* this
would necessitate reading in stichos a for *ū-bhārā'* some word like
w^e-nir'ā (''and shall appear,'' instead of ''and shall create'';
the Septuagint read *ū-bhā',* ''and shall come''; *bārā',* indeed, is
striking; though used in the latter part of Isaiah, its objects are
such that it may well be translated ''shape'' or ''fashion,'' or
''to fashion, create anew, transform''), and to treat stichoi c and
d as vague appositions: God will appear (as) a cloud; or read
''in a cloud.''

In stichos c the order of words in the Hebrew is ''a cloud by
day and smoke''; so that ''and smoke'' is joined by the versions
to the next clause (d), which would make c very short; but
both Septuagint and Targum insert the equivalent of the Hebrew
word *mēçāl,* ''shadowing,'' with ''cloud.'' This denotes, per-
haps, merely that a feeling for balance led to its insertion in
the versions, as parallel to ''flaming,'' which modifies ''fire,'' in
the next stichos. Quite possibly, however, it was due to a mar-
ginal variant of *w^e-'āshān,* ''and smoke,'' e.g., *ye'shan* or *'āshēn*
(''smoking''), belonging after ''cloud'': ''a smoking cloud by
day, and a flaming fire by night.''

> 5–6. (5e) For upon all the glory (shall be: Heb. no verb, i.e.,
> ''is'') a defence. (6a) And there shall be a tabernacle (b) for a
> shadow in the day-time from the heat (c) and for a (place of)
> refuge and for a covert from storm and from rain.

Though the beginning of this stanza is most awkwardly
worded, the end seems to show the same construction as the
previous part of the prophecy: a couplet (or here a triplet) in
parallelism, but the stichoi not syntactically independent.

CHAPTER 4

For the beginning of the stanza parallelism seems indicated in the words "canopy" (5e) and "tabernacle" (6a). The former word occurs again only in Ps. 19.6; Josh. 2.16, apparently meaning "chamber"; the root occurs, however, in a significant passage, Deut. 33.12: $\chi\bar{o}ph\bar{e}ph$ *'ālāw:* " (the Lord) shall cover him"; such a verb is indeed read by the Septuagint ($\sigma\kappa\epsilon\pi\alpha\sigma\theta\dot{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$); i.e., $y\bar{a}\chi\bar{o}ph$ or (from the cognate root) $ye\chi p\grave{e}.$ But while the meaning of this couplet is clear, in its present form it is much mutilated. If the phrase "for upon all glory" is not to be disposed of as above suggested, we might read: *kī 'al kullah kᵉbhōdhō yāχōph, wᵉ-sukka tihyè* (add *ghᵉ'ūthō?*):

> Yea, all of her his glory shall cover,
> And a tabernacle shall (there, it; or insert "his majesty" or "over her") be.

For this thought, compare Is. 60.2, cited above; Ps. 57.6: "thy glory is over all the earth"; Ex. 24.16: "and the glory (*khᵉbhōdh*) of the Lord abode upon Mount Sinai, and the cloud covered it"; for "tabernacle," *sukka,* as the equivalent of the cloud in which God appears: II Sam. 22.12, "He was seen upon the wings of the wind; he made darkness pavilions (*sukkōth*) round about him, dark waters and thick clouds." And for the thought of God's glory, i.e., God himself, as the refuge from the storm, compare Is. 25.4: "For thou hast been a strength to the poor, a strength to the needy in his distress; a refuge from the storm, a shadow from the heat."

The simple parallelism at the end of this last passage (*maχse miz-zerem çēl mē-χōrebh*) suggests that our closing couplet 6b, c probably also was originally as simple; i.e., exactly like the corresponding member of the other stanzas. The word *yōmām,* "in the day-time," is omitted by the Septuagint; it may be either simple dittography from verse 5; or it may with *ūlᵉ-mistōr,* "and for a covert," represent the distorted missing portions of the first couplet of this stanza. *Mistōr* in itself, though superfluous, is not objectionable; but *māṭār,* "rain," after *zerem,* "flood," is remarkably weak and anticlimactic; *māṭār* occurs often in the Old Testament, but always as a symbol of blessing

and refreshment, never of destruction; Prov. 28.3, which might
be the apparent exception, in reality shows the normal use of
the word; the king, who is expected to be the champion of the
poor (cf. 72.1), but who instead oppresses them, is likened to a
rain (because the rain is expected to bring blessings) which pros-
trates, $sōχēph,$ the grain and brings no food; i.e., $mātār$ receives
its special meaning there entirely from its essential modifier
$sōχēph.$ Read then here:

> For a shadow from the heat,
> And for a refuge from the storm.

Finally, there is the possibility that the prophecy ended orig-
inally with the word $lay^elā,$ "night," in verse 5; and that the
remainder represents annotations based on the passages quoted
in the course of this discussion.

Chapter 5

1. (a) Now will I sing to my beloved (b) a song of my beloved
touching his vineyard. (c) My beloved hath a vineyard (d) in a
very fruitful hill.

The prevailing type of line found in verses 1–7 is one char-
acterized by a distinct caesura; in some cases one portion of the
line is longer than the other; in most cases the second portion
of the line is also in some degree of parallelism with the first
portion, and in a few, in complete parallelism.

Even in the first line the first portion, "Now will I sing to
my beloved," may be considered as syntactically complete in
itself; compare Ps. 13.6: "I will sing unto the Lord, because he
hath dealt bountifully with me"; or 96.2: "Sing unto the Lord,
bless his name"; and so the verb "sing" is often used without
any object.   Accordingly, the portion of the line after the
caesura, "a song of my beloved touching his vineyard," might
be considered as a parallel to the first part, a cognate accusa-
tive, "song," being used instead of an appositional finite verb
"I will sing"; and the whole line might thus be considered a
parallelistic couplet of the incremental type (cf. the Song of

CHAPTER 5

Deborah, Judges 5.3: "I to the Lord, I will sing; I will chant to the Lord God of Israel").

In the second line (c, d) "my beloved hath a vineyard" might again be a syntactically complete proposition; but the portion d, as the text stands, can in no way be considered parallel to any word in c; nor has the line as a whole any parallel.

This verse, however, is not without its difficulties for translators and commentators. In stichos b, "a song of my beloved touching his vineyard" means "the song sung by my beloved touching [or perhaps 'to'] his vineyard"; for if "my beloved" were an objective genitive the text would of necessity be *shīrath dōdhī we-kharmō:* "the song of my beloved and his vineyard"; or the same thought might possibly be expressed thus: *shīrā lᵉ-dhōdhī wᵉ-kharmō:* "a song concerning my friend and his vineyard." A subjective genitive does not suit the context; stichos a means either "I will sing to my beloved" or "I will sing concerning my beloved" (or it means both at the same time, as it seems to mean generally in the frequent phrase "sing *lᵉ-Yahwè:* "sing to and of the Lord"); and one does not sing to a beloved the beloved's own song; nor, indeed, is the song that follows the beloved's song, but a song concerning the beloved's vineyard.

A very simple change (*dōdhaw* for *dōdhī*) yields this sentence: "I will sing now to (and 'of') my beloved, the song of his love for his vineyard"; this, however, introduces a distinction between the references in "love" and "beloved," making one refer to the singer's beloved, the other to the beloved's love for his vineyard. As a matter of fact, it is the word "beloved" that is most difficult to explain in this passage; its casual use by the Prophet in the sense of "my friend" would be strange, and the strangeness would be much increased by the fact that it seems to occur here in an allegory and to refer to Yahwè. Such a use of the term, if possible at all, would certainly require that in the identification (verse 7) of the characters in the parable it also should be explained. But the concealment of the fact that Yahwè is the owner of the vineyard is not at all an im-

portant element in the parable; it is dropped without comment
in verse 3, despite the fact that ''beloved'' is used three times
in the introduction—a repetition that must be taken as indica-
tive of added emphasis upon the word.

And, indeed, the idea of love is the important one in the par-
able; but it is not that of the singer's love for the Lord, or vice
versa; it is the Lord's love for his vineyard.   The word ''be-
loved,'' *yᵉdhīdhī,* expresses just that idea wherever it occurs
in the Psalms and elsewhere in passages referring to the Lord;
thus Deut. 33.2, ''Benjamin is God's beloved; the Lord shall
cover him all the day''; in Jer. 12.7ff. Israel is the ''dearly
beloved of my [God's] soul, my heritage, *my vineyard.''* If in
the present passage stichos 1a stood by itself the natural inter-
pretation would then be: ''I will sing now of my beloved'' and
the sequel would show clearly that, as is usual, the Prophet is
identifying himself with the voice of God, and that ''the be-
loved'' is his, i.e., God's, vineyard, on which he has lavished his
loving care (the enallage to the third person in verse 2, ''he
fenced it,'' is then the usual enallage: the Prophet alternates
between the two without marking the change; the Septuagint,
however, keeps the first person consistently throughout).   If
yᵉdhīdhī has its usual meaning the failure to explain it in verse 7
would not be remarkable; nevertheless, it really is indirectly
explained there as referring to vineyard, though for *yādhīdh* is
substituted a synonymous term, *shaʿshūʿāw,* which, since the
identity of the ''beloved'' as the ''vineyard'' has already become
evident, is chosen because it can better be applied both to a vine-
yard and to a person; so *shaʿshūʿīm,* ''pleasant,'' is used in
Jer. 31.20 in combination with *yeledh:* ''Benjamin was to me a
pleasant child,'' where the parallelism *bēn yāqīr* shows its mean-
ing to be ''precious,'' ''dear,'' ''beloved,'' ''fondled'' (cf.
yāqartā in Is. 43.4); cf. Is. 66.12: ''ye shall be born upon her
sides, and be dandled *(tᵉshaʿshaʿū)* upon her knees.''

To make the first line consistent, then, it is necessary only to
read the consonantal text as preserved (or changed) by the
Septuagint; reading, however, a different vowel from that which

CHAPTER 5

it supplied: *dōdhai* for its *dōdhī:* "Now will I sing of my
beloved, a song of my love for my vineyard." This at the same
time is what parallelism demands.

The second stichos (lit. "a vineyard was to my beloved,"
kerem hāyā līdhīdhī) would then have to be read: "a vineyard
was to me (as) beloved," *kerem hāyā lī le-yādhīdh;* cf. Gen.
28.21, *we-hāyā Yahwè lī lēlōhim,* "and Yahwè will be to me for
God." The construction is used particularly of personal rela-
tionships (father and sons, husband and wife, etc.), a fact which
is in keeping with the personification suggested by the use of
"beloved" in this first verse. It should be noted that the Sep-
tuagint omits the pronoun of "beloved," reading perhaps as
proposed, *le-yādhīdh* for *līdhīdhī.*

Be-kherem ben shāmen, "in a very fruitful hill," is literally
"in a horn, son of fat" (or "oil"). The use of "son" in such
phrases is fairly frequent; normally, however, it is applied to
that which is the result of, is produced by, that comes forth
from, or goes into, something else; i.e., where the original mean-
ing of the term is preserved in a sort of personification. Thus
"sparks" are the "sons of the flame"; "arrows" are "sons of
the quiver"; particularly in Is. 21.10: Babylon is likened to
corn that is threshed, and this is called "son of my threshing-
floor"; on the other hand, the hill itself would be "father" of
fertility (see the note on 6.13). It is curious that in the present
verse, where Israel is likened to a vineyard, and the vineyard is
personified, the metaphorical use of son should appear applied
not to Israel or the vineyard, but to the "hill," which has no
figurative meaning here.

The word *qeren* itself occurs some seventy-five times in the
Old Testament; only here does it denote anything but "horn."
The translation "hill" is based on the Arabic, where *qarn* de-
notes sometimes the spur of a hill; also the higher part of a
desert, or a corner; *wādīs* also have proper names compounded
with *Qarn.* Indeed, the choice of *qeren* here, instead of any
usual word for hill, and as emphasizing the "horn" or "spur"
of a hill, is curious; vineyards are planted on hills, it is true;

but on the slopes preferably of rolling hills, not on isolated peaks. The entire phrase is evidently very poetical, and not literal; it would be so even without the word *bēn*, "son"; *qeren shemen* means "horn, flask of oil" (I Sam. 16.1) and its application to a hill would suggest a metaphor; but particularly would it be apt in personification: *qeren hap-pūkh*, "horn of antimony," is a proper name. Perhaps, then, the preposition *be*, "in," should be omitted, and the phrase, *qeren ben shemen*, should refer directly to, and be in apposition with, "the vineyard." The change restores parallelism at the same time.

> 2. (a) And he fenced it, (b) and gathered out the stones thereof, (c) and planted it with choicest vines; (d) and built a tower in the midst thereof, (e) and also made a wine press therein; (f) and he looked that it should bring forth grapes, (g) and it brought forth wild grapes.

The Septuagint, as noted above, reads the first person throughout this verse. Of the sentences that compose this strophe, f and g together possibly form a line of the same type as that noted before as the dominant type of this prophecy (*qīnā*); they might also be read as an ordinary parallelistic distich, like d and e. In regard to a, b (each in Hebrew a single word) and c (two words), there is some doubt; they might be read as three stichoi (cf. 1.6), as two (ab, c) or as one with caesura (ab c); only d and e, then, cannot be made to conform to the *qīnā* type.

The word *bōshīm* (root "to stink") occurs in Job 31.40; it may be merely a general term "worthless (ones)," and perhaps denotes the same as *'inn°bhē rōsh*, literally, "poison grapes," translated "grapes of gall" (cf. Deut. 29.17: "a root bearing gall"); as a matter of fact, galls are found on grapevines; and even if they were not, the oak gall is common enough in Syria to have given rise to the figure.

The suddenness and brevity of the climax "they produced galls," after the long description of the care lavished on the vineyard, is worthy of note in a discussion of the style of Isaiah.

Chapter 5

> 3–4. (3a) And now, O inhabitant of Jerusalem, and men of Judah, (b) judge, I pray you, betwixt me and (betwixt) my vineyard. (4a) What could have been done more to my vineyard that I have not done it (lit. and I have not done it); (b) wherefore when I looked (lit. did I look) that it should bring forth grapes, brought it forth (lit. and it brought forth) wild grapes?

Here the dominant type of strophe becomes clear again: the caesura is marked; there is a degree of subordinate parallelism between the two portions of each line, caused, except in the first, by the repetition of some word: "betwixt" in 3b, "done," '*āsā*, in 4a, "bring forth," Hebrew '*āsā* again, in 4b. There is parallelism, also, in form and thought between 4a and 4b as entities: "Why did I do everything good for it, while it did (produced) only ill (galls) for me?"

> 5. (a) And now, go to; I will tell you (lit. and now, let me tell you) what I will do to my vineyard.

Read by itself, this line might be simple prose. But read with attention to the rest of the poem in which it stands, it makes a somewhat different impression. Indeed, one must not disregard the immediately preceding line, to which it is an answer. And while the question in 4b has a distinct rhetorical purpose, it is not merely a rhetorical question. It cannot be supposed that the curiosity of the Prophet's audience at this point was not aroused by the question why a carefully nurtured vineyard produced galls; nor can it be supposed, when he utters the words "now I will tell you," that the audience is not expecting the answer to that particular question; and the form of the rest of this prophecy shows conclusively that there was a caesura, a pause, after these words. Indeed, "let me tell you" (without expressed object) is a complete proposition in itself; cf. Jer. 11.18, "and the Lord hath told me," *hōdhī' anī;* but particularly Jer. 16.21, where the same rhetorical effect as in the present passage is produced in the same way, excepting that the effect becomes clearer by the repetition of the predicate after the caesura: "Therefore, behold, I will this once cause them to know—I will cause them to know mine hand and my might." And in Isaiah the caesura is used with added effect; for he

wrenches the conclusion of the sentence away from the expected, and with dramatic suddenness again rushes from calm reasoning to a prophecy of punishment. To a certain extent there is involved here a species of paronomasia. "I will inform you" becomes because of the additional clause, "I'll show you!" in the colloquial use of that phrase as a threat; cf. the passage from Jeremiah quoted above; and so in Arabic *'arrifuhu,* "I will let him know," "I will show him" (scil., "something he will remember"), "I will teach him a lesson." If, however, the verse is regarded as one long line, parallelism is, perhaps, established by means of the infinitives in 5b–6 (q.v.), which are in apposition with the clause "what I shall do to my vineyard"; or if parallelism was not intended at all, the line is a simple prose line, a mere "formula of announcement."

> 5–6. (5b) I will take away the hedge thereof, (c) and it shall be eaten up; (d) and break down the wall thereof, (e) and it shall be trodden down. (6a) And I will lay it waste: (b) it shall not be pruned, (c) nor (shall it be) digged: (d) but there shall come up briers and thorns: (e) I will also command the clouds (f) that they rain no rain upon it.

The extreme, almost savage, terseness of the Hebrew infinitives in 5b and d ("take away," *hāsēr;* "break down," *pārōç*) is not revealed by the English finite verbs.

The ten clauses of this passage can again be read as a series of (five) lines, each with a distinct caesura; the unevenness in length of the two parts, however, is absent; on the other hand, with the exception of one line (6ef) each might clearly be read as two, all to a certain extent parallel, but with closer parallelism between the alternate lines.

The arrangement is not entirely clear as the text stands. 6a and 6b evidently belong closely together; *lō' yizzāmēr* probably is a circumstantial clause modifying *wa-'ashīthēhū bhāthā:* "and I will lay it waste, it not being pruned." This would suggest then that the corresponding *lō' yēʿādhēr,* "it shall not be hoed," belongs after, not before, 6d, thus: "there shall come up briers and thorns, it not being hoed." Otherwise, 6a–d might form an "envelope" parallelistic quatrastich:

CHAPTER 5

> And I shall make it a waste,
> It shall not be pruned,
> And it shall not be hoed,
> And thorn and thistles shall come up.

At any rate there is a clear relationship of cause and effect between the growth of thorns and thistles and the absence of hoeing; as there is between removal of the hedge and being eaten (but see the note on 6.13), between breaking of the walls and being trodden. This leads to a closer examination of the word *bāthā*, "waste," in its relation to absence of pruning. *Bāthā* is a ἅπαξ λεγόμενον, assigned to the root *bāthath*, "cut off" or "sever," although as vocalized by the Massora, this derivation is not certain; the form should be *battā*, used by Isaiah in 7.19 with the meaning "precipice." Septuagint and Targum translate with words containing the idea "to desert"—evidencing perhaps nothing more than a desire to establish a closer connection of ideas, as suggested above ("neglected" as a synonym of "unpruned"). The conclusion seems inevitable, since the language has many words for "waste," "destruction," etc., that Isaiah used this special work here because of some special appropriateness. If the root is "cut off," the purpose may have been the play on the ideas: "it shall be cut—but not with (the cutting of) pruning." But it is far more likely that there is an error in the text or in our interpretation; with a prefixed *'ayin* (*'bhāthā?*) the word might mean "thicket," "entanglement"; or if possibly the Arabic root *katha'a, kathatha* (which would ordinarily be in Hebrew *kāsha, kāshash,* but is not found) might be read, a still more appropriate word would result; it denotes "become thick and tangled"; it is applied not only to plants, but also to the beards of men; and it is at least curious to note that in Lev. 25.5 vines that are left unpruned in the Sabbatical year are called *nāzīr*, "Nazirite," i.e., "with unshorn hair."

In 6e, f "I will also command the clouds, that they rain no rain upon it," there seems to be no reason for questioning the caesura after "clouds." The verb "command" with the preposition *'al*, "upon," "against," almost invariably means "pro-

hibit'': the phrase means then ''I will enjoin, restrain the clouds''; so that the rest of the sentence is merely a nearer definition; the usual construction, indeed, would be: ''I will lay command upon the clouds, saying, 'rain not upon it.' '' In the difficult passage, Job 36.32, *wa-yᵉçaw ʿālēhā bᵉmafgīaʿ*, Saadia interprets the first two words, ''and he commanded upon it,'' as a complete proposition, and so the English translates, ''commandeth it not to shine,'' inserting the last three words. But if the sentence in Isaiah is regarded as one long stichos, it is still parallel to the rest of verse 6.

> 7. (a) For the vineyard of the Lord of Hosts is the house of Israel, (b) and the men of Judah his pleasant plant; (c) and he looked for judgment but behold oppression; (d) for righteousness, and behold a cry.

Stichoi a and b are a distich in ordinary complementary parallelism; nevertheless, there is a species of caesura within each stichos, and there was quite probably in delivery of the prophecy an actual, dramatic pause: ''for the vineyard of the Lord of Hosts is—the house of Israel!'' Indeed, whenever in a proposition subject and predicate are exactly synonymous and coextensive, there results a form of inner parallelism.

In stichoi c and d the caesura is logical, and again these two lines might be divided into four. In either case *li-çᵉdhāqā*, ''for righteousness,'' is interesting; though it is a single word, it forms an independent syntactic member; and in time, in the number of rhythmic ''thought beats,'' it is the equivalent of the phrase ''he looked for justice.''

The paronomasia is striking, and especially in the case of *çᵉdhāqā* and *çᵉʿāqā*, ''righteousness'' and ''cry,'' the meaning is perfectly evident; ''the cry'' is the cry of fright and suffering, and by metonymy the word becomes almost a synonym of ''sin''; so in Gen. 18.21 in reference to Sodom, it is parallel to ''sin,'' *χaṭṭāʾā*, and contrasted with the *çaddīq*, ''righteous,'' of 18.24; in Ps. 9.13, ''seeker of blood'' (i.e., ''murderer'') occurs as a complement of ''the cry of the oppressed.'' But the word *mispāχ*, A. V. ''oppression,'' in contrast to *mishpāṭ*, ''judgment''

Chapter 5

or "justice," is not entirely clear. If the thought intended was "shedding" (i.e., of blood) it is curious that Isaiah should have had recourse to a rare root *sāphaχ* (moreover, with *sin* not *samekh*), instead of the root *shāphakh* common in Hebrew with just the connotation "shedding-blood" and, moreover, affording an even closer homonym to *mishpāt*: i.e., *mishpākh*. If Proverbs 13.23 were clearer, it might be cited as suggesting a possible emendation *mispā*, "snatching": there is that which is destroyed, literally "snatched," "swept away," for want of justice, *be-lō' mishpāt;* and in the passage just cited, Gen. 18.23, occurs again: "wilt thou snatch away (*tespè*) the righteous with the wicked," in which Abraham apparently asks the Lord if He himself intends to commit toward the righteous just that specific act for committing which the wicked are about to be punished.

> 8–10. (8a) Woe unto them that join house to house, (b) (that) lay field to field, (c) till (there be) no place, (d) that they (Heb. ye) may be placed alone in the earth.
>
> (9a) In mine ears (said) the Lord of Hosts, (b) of a truth many houses shall be desolate, (9c) even great and fair without inhabitant. (10a) Yea, ten acres of vineyard shall yield one bath, (b) and the seed of an homer shall yield an ephah.

Beginning with verse 8 there is a return to ordinary parallelism; with a few transpositions the prophecy through verse 23 consists of a series of double quatrains, of the type preserved in the first series, 8–10: the first quatrain denounces a certain class of sinners, the second predicts their punishment (i.e., is antistrophic). In each quatrain normally, while the four lines are parallel, there is a closer degree of parallelism within each couplet composing it.

In the first quatrain, the third line, *'adh 'ephes māqōm,* "till there is no place," seems possibly too short, especially when contrasted with the fourth. Is it again a mere coincidence that just where this disparity is felt, the Septuagint shows an equalizing transposition? It translates: "in order that they may remove something of their neighbor's"; i.e., *'adh 'esōph me'ūm qerōbhām.* Here *'esōph,* "removal," is the Massoretic *'ephes,* "there is no"; *me'ūmā,* "something," is the Massoretic *māqōm*

("place"); on the misreading of ' for *q*, see the note on *miq-qedhem*, 2.6); but *qᵉrōbhām* is the Massoretic *qᵉrebh*, "midst of," from the next line; quite possibly, then, this word was at first omitted by mistake, was written on the margin, and then edited by a copyist into the wrong place.   For the use of *māqōm*, "place," i.e., "vineyard," "field," "estate," compare Is. 7.23: "in every place (*māqōm;* i.e., "estate" or "vineyard") where there were a thousand vines"; and on the general idea expressed here compare the words of Ahab to Naboth in I Kings 21.2: "Give me thy vineyard, because it is near (*qārōbh*), alongside of mine house."   Line 8d seems to bear in itself other evidences of corruption.   The use of the second person (the English translates as third) in this one line, while the rest of the stanza and of the whole prophecy is cast in the third, which is the usual construction after *hoi*, "ah!" or "alas!" may not be disregarded.   Moreover the use of the *hophʿal* form *hūshabhtem*, "ye be caused to dwell," is most illogical; there is certainly no idea of causation intended.   The Septuagint translator felt this, and read (or interpreted) the initial *h* as the particle of interrogation: "will ye dwell."   Parallelism with the preceding line suggests the infinitive *wᵉ-shibhtām*, "and (until) their dwelling," and *lᵉ-bhaddām*, which was changed to *lᵉ-bhaddᵉkhem* to agree with the misread verb.

In 9a the phrase "In mine ears (said) the Lord of Hosts" stands outside the parallelism, as has been noticed in the case of similar phrases introducing the direct discourse.   The sentence itself, without a verb, is suspicious; the consonantal text might as well be translated: "In the ears of the Lord of Hosts" (cf. Num. 11.18, 14.28; I Sam. 8.21); or even as an oath, "by the ears of the Lord!"   Possibly its mutilated form is due to the fact again that it was an editorial marginal insertion to explain the following construction *'im lō'*, literally "if many houses shall not be desolate!"   Or the whole construction, including *'im lō'*, is the editorial reconstruction of a defective passage; Septuagint has for *'im lō' ἐὰν γὰρ γένωνται*.   That even with the Massoretic *'im lō'* retained the introductory phrase is still syn-

Chapter 5

tactically unnecessary is shown for instance by Job 1.11. But
that *'im lō'* was itself probably inserted into a defective text,
and that some simple word *lākhēn,* "therefore," was original,
is shown by verses 13, 14, 24; the more solemn and emphatic
'im lō' and *'im* occur, it is true, in 14.24 and 22.14; but both of
these passages contain an especially solemn prophecy ("as I
have sworn, so shall it be!"; "not shall your sin be atoned for
you until ye die!"), which is not the case here.

On the probable meaning of *bāttīm rabbīm,* "many houses,"
see 2.3, "many nations."

In the line "ten acres (lit. "spans," *çimdē;* perhaps "what
a span of oxen can plough in a day") of vineyard shall produce
one bath" (forty litres or eight gallons), it would be inter-
esting to know why the Septuagint omitted (or misread) the
common word *kerem,* "vineyard." Perhaps merely because it
was felt that a term of measurement referring literally to
ploughing was not a logical one to apply to vineyards. Isaiah
is, as a matter of fact, very careful in his use of terms; and in
7.23 where again there is a quantitative reference to vineyards,
he uses just the terms which would be expected and which are
used today in the East: the number of vines of a certain value
each. In Arabic there is a term which exactly corresponds to
çimdē, i.e., *faddān;* but I doubt whether even the colloquial
Arabic applies it in measurement of anything but seed-land.
The Septuagint, translating ἐργῶνται, perhaps substituted, if it
did not actually find in the Hebrew, for *kerem* some form of the
root from which comes *'ikkārīm,* "ploughman"; in Jer. 51.23
the two terms occur together: *'ikkār wᵉ-çimdō,* "the husbandman
and his yoke of oxen." The line under discussion is as a matter
of fact overloaded; and it is possible that either "ten" or "vine-
yard" is superfluous. If *'ᵃçereth çᵉmadhīm,* "ten acres," is
original, the consonants *k, r* from *kerem* may represent the
marginal variant *kōr,* for a *kōr* is a term of measurement exactly
identical with a χōμερ (mentioned in the next line) as the *bath*
is identical with the *'ēphā.* On the other hand "ten" may be
marginal, as an attempt to explain the proportion between *kōr*

CHAPTER 5

and *bath*, χōmer and *'ēphā,* the latter of each pair of terms being
just ten times the former. At all events the passage is interest-
ing, if it may be assumed that the normal proportionate yield
of the vineyard and the field were about the same as today.
Ten acres of vineyard on the average yield five thousand gallons,
Professor Bioletti informs me, instead of which Isaiah predicts
eight gallons, i.e., one instead of six hundred and twenty-five. If
"ten" be omitted the prediction becomes one instead of sixty,
which would still denote absolute ruin. Supposing a ten-fold
yield of wheat (German colonists in Sharon enjoy an eight-fold
yield), the proportion of prophesied to normal yield would be
one to one hundred. In Gen. 26.12, it is true, Isaac is said to
have enjoyed a hundred-fold yield apparently (so in Matthew
13.8, hundred-fold, sixty-fold, and thirty-fold yields are men-
tioned); if such yields were usual, the proportion of prophesied
to normal yield of grain might be one to one thousand, but pos-
sibly "one hundred fold" represents not the returns of a single
harvest, but of a year—or else is oriental hyperbole.

> 11–14. (11a) Woe unto them that rise up early in the morning
> that they may follow strong drink; (b) that continue until night
> (till) wine inflame them. (12a) And the harp and the viol, the
> tabret and pipe, (b) and wine (are in) their feasts;
>
> (12c) but they regard not the work of the Lord, (d) neither con-
> sider the operation of his hands. (13a) Therefore my people are
> gone into captivity (b) because they have no knowledge; (c) and
> their honorable men (are) famished (e) and their multitude dried
> up with thirst.
>
> (14a) Therefore hell hath enlarged herself, (b) and opened her
> mouth without measure; (c) and their glory and their multitude (d)
> and their pomp, and he that rejoiceth, shall descend into it (Heb.:
> and shall descend their glory and their multitude and their pomp,
> and one rejoicing, in her).

In this exceedingly long passage it is noticeable that verses
13 and 14 each begin with "therefore," introducing two differ-
ent threats of punishment: hell and captivity, for the one crime
of intoxication. Either of these "therefore" passages is as good
a conclusion for one of the several "woe" passages which, as at
present arranged, occur later in this chapter without any "there-

CHAPTER 5

fore'' passage.	Another fact is noticeable: verse 22 is in
thought a doublet of verse 11, referring again to drunkards.
The illogical arrangement is self evident; and the transposition
of the passage 12c–13 leaves a stanza, clear and logical, of the
same formation exactly as that found in verses. 8–10: strophe
and antistrophe.

As the passage stands, moreover, the feeling for style is out-
raged by the fact that the word *hāmōn* occurs twice (verses 13
and 14) in two quite distinct meanings: once denoting ''the
multitude'' or ''people'' (contrasted with *kābhōd,* ''honorable
men''; cf. Is. 16.14), and once denoting ''noise,'' A. V. again
''multitude.''	It was perhaps just this word which led the com-
piler to put these passages together (see on *yinhōm,* below).

Parallelism in 11a and b between *yirdōphū,* ''follow,'' and
yadhlīqēm, ''till wine inflame them,'' involves at the same time
a play on the latter word, which, at least in the simple (*qal*)
conjugation, means also ''follow,'' ''pursue'' (Ps. 10.2; Lam.
4.19; Gen. 31.36; I Sam. 17.53): in the morning they pursue
wine; in the evening wine pursues them. · Moreover there is here
again the characteristic twist of thought: ''Ah! those who are
industrious in pursuit of—wine!''

In 12a and b, as the text stands, there is displayed an ex-
tremely awkward style: four names of musical instruments are
joined with the word wine to form the subject of ''their ban-
quet,'' though ''wine'' has just occurred in the preceding line,
in parallelism to its synonym ''strong drink.''	Certainly the
second ''wine'' is out of place; and it is probable, in view of
verse 14, that this series of words should be read and emended
in some such way as follows:

> *we-hāyā kinnōr wā-nebhel haᵐōnām*
> *tōph we-χālīl sheʾōn mishtām,*

''the harp and the viol are their tumult; the tabret and pipe
are the noise of their banquet.''	For the inserted word *sheʾōn,*
see below, on *ʾālēz bāh.*

In 14c the reading *haᵈdharāh,* etc., with feminine singular
suffix instead of masculine plural (which the English assumes,

reading "their glory" for "her glory") is due to the influence
of the feminine suffix in the preceding line ("her mouth")—
another clear evidence of copyist's carelessness. We-$\dot{a}l\bar{e}z$ $b\bar{a}h$,
literally "and one who rejoices, in her," a participle added to
a series of abstracts each with its suffix, is stylistically impossible,
and the separation of the final prepositional phrase, "in her,"
from its verb "go down" in this manner is also not likely
Isaianic. Nor is the proper usage "go down in" $She'\bar{o}l$, but "go
down to" (acc.) or "into" ($'el$) $She'\bar{o}l$; nor is $\dot{a}l\bar{e}z$ the usual
form of the participial adjective of the root $\dot{a}l\bar{e}z$; it occurs only
once, as against $\dot{a}ll\bar{\imath}z$ seven times, five of them in Isaiah. Pos-
sibly then $\dot{a}l\bar{e}z$ $b\bar{a}h$ together represent an original abstract with
suffix like the preceding nouns, e.g., $\dot{a}l\bar{\imath}z\bar{u}th\bar{a}h$ (cf. $\dot{a}li\varsigma\bar{u}th\bar{a}m$,
Hab. 3.14), or $\dot{a}lz\bar{a}th\bar{a}h$. Or probably $\dot{a}l\bar{e}z$ is a misreading for
a verb parallel to $y\bar{a}r^edh\bar{u}$, "go down"; the Septuagint has
οἱ λοιμοὶ αὐτῆς, i.e., $'ansh\bar{e}$ $b^el\bar{\imath}ya'al$ (cf. I Sam. 25.25, e.g.), in
which $'ansh\bar{e}$ represents a double reading of $sh\bar{a}'\bar{o}n$ in this verse,
or a marginal reading of it intended for insertion in verse 12
(see above); while $b^el\bar{\imath}ya'al$ may represent an original $yibb\bar{a}l^{e'}\bar{u}$,
"shall be swallowed up" (with $b\bar{a}h$, "in her"); cf. the par-
allelism in Prov. 1.13, "Let us swallow them up ($nibhl\bar{a}'\bar{e}m$)
alive, as the grave; and whole, as those that go down into the
pit" ($y\bar{o}r^edh\bar{e}$ $bh\bar{o}r$); and cf. possibly Is. 28.7, where the $niph'al$
of this verb is used (but in a different figure) of drunkards.

The passage 12b–13c extracted from the middle of this double
quatrain may well belong after verse 21; if a line parallel to
"my people shall perish for lack of knowledge" be supplied,
e.g., "and are undone for lack of understanding," the restored
series of verses 21, 12b–13c needs nothing further to furnish
another perfectly consistent and complete double quatrain.
Notice that verse 12c, "the work of the Lord they do not regard,"
and 13b, "because they have no knowledge," present an excel-
lent contrast to "those who are wise in their own eyes" in
verse 21. For the proposed additional line cf. Hosea 4.6: $nidhm\bar{u}$
$'amm\bar{\imath}$ mib-$b^el\bar{\imath}$ had-$da'ath$, "my people are undone for want of
knowledge"; while in Is. 27.11 occurs the phrase $k\bar{\imath}$ $l\bar{o}$ $'am$ $b\bar{\imath}n\bar{o}th$

Chapter 5

$h\bar{u}$', "for it is a people of no understanding"; and the same
parallelism, $b\bar{\imath}n$ and $y\bar{a}dha'$, is found in Is. 1.3, 6.10. The sug-
gestion is also in order that $g\bar{a}l\bar{a}$, "go into captivity," is an
error for $k\bar{a}l\bar{a}$, "perish," i.e., of the hunger and thirst described
in 13be. The particular aptness in associating hunger with lack
of knowledge is due to the figurative expression "hunger for
knowledge"; so Amos says (8.11, 13) : "I will send famine in
the land—not a famine for bread, nor a thirst for water; but of
hearing the words of the Lord; in that day shall the fair virgins
and young men faint for thirst." Still, that hunger and thirst
would be a fitting punishment for feasting and drunkenness, is
evident; and it is possible that one of these "therefore" sections
is the missing sequel, not of verse 21, but of verse 22, another
passage referring to drunkenness; i.e., that there were originally
two quite separate prophecies, or versions of one prophecy, on
this subject.

> 15–16. (15a) And the (mean) man shall be brought down, (b)
> and the (mighty) man shall be humbled, (c) and the eyes of the
> lofty shall be humbled; (16a) But the Lord of Hosts shall be ex-
> alted in judgment, (b) and God, that is holy, shall be sanctified by
> righteousness.

That verses 15 and 16 are out of place is shown by the fact
that they are a variant of the refrain found three times in chap-
ter 2 (q.v.), and that they confuse the strophic structure sug-
gested by verse 8–10; this confirms the theory that this chapter
is in some disorder. As far as style is concerned, the loose
repetition of "shall be humbled" in 15b and e suggests that
these two lines are in themselves variants of one.

> 17. (a) Then shall the lambs feed after their manner (b) and
> the waste places of the fat ones shall strangers eat.

While in form these two stichoi are parallel, and "feed" and
"eat" are parallel verbs, the precise meaning of the other words
is not entirely clear; nor, even if this couplet belongs with the
preceding, is there sufficient logical connection to serve as a
guide. Syntactically, as the text stands, "strangers," $g\bar{a}r\bar{\imath}m$, is

parallel to "lambs," *kᵉbhāshîm;* linguistically, however, "fat ones," *mēχîm* is the parallel to "lambs"; it is only the exigency of the passage that has led translators to refer it to human beings with the meaning "those who were once rich"; the word occurs, with inserted *yōdh,* in Ps. 66.15 ("burnt offerings of fatlings," *'ōlōth mēχîm*); it is a synonym of *mᵉrē'îm,* used by Isaiah in 1.11 ("the fat of fatlings") and again in 11.6, a passage of similar import to 5.17 perhaps, but in which *mᵉrî'* is not above suspicion. The defect in parallelism and clarity of thought is again coincident with variations in the Septuagint, whose underlying Hebrew text, however, cannot be exactly determined.

The word translated "according to their manner," i.e., *ki-dhᵉbhārām* is vocalized in the Massoretic text *kᵉ-dhobhrām,* "as (in) their pasture" (cf. Micah 2.12: "as a flock in the midst of its pasture"—only other occurrence of the word *dōbher,* "pasture," but made clear in Micah by the parallel, whether that parallel be retained as it stands, *boçrā,* or be read as from a root *rābhaç,* "sheep-fold"). Either vocalization demands that there be supplied in thought a phrase parallel to "waste places," such as "in the wilderness," "in the desert": "they shall feed in the wilderness after their manner," or "as though in their folds," a reference to the Messianic age; but more probably *kᵉ-dhobhrām* itself is to be read simply *bam-midhbār,* "in the wilderness"; in the second stichos *gārîm,* "strangers," must be read then, after the Septuagint, either *kārîm,* "lambs," or *gᵉdhîyîm,* "kids"; and *mēχîm,* "fatlings," is simply a gloss, or variant reading, of *kārîm.* It is also possible that a transposition of words has taken place, inasmuch as *kārîm* means also "meadows"; so that *mēχîm kārîm yōkhēlū* could mean "and fatlings shall feed in meadows"—in which case *dōbher* may be retained in stichos a. One other slight change in stichos b suggests itself: for *χorbhōth,* "ruins," read *raχᵃbhōth* or *merχᵃbhōth,* "broad places"; cf. Is. 30.23: "in that day shall thy cattle feed in large pastures, *kar nirχābh;* and Hos. 4.16: "The Lord will feed them as a lamb in a large place," *kᵉ-khebesh bam-merχābh.*

Chapter 5

The couplet then reads: "and lambs shall feed as in their own meadows [or simply: "in meadows": *bi-dhᵉbhārîm*], and the fatlings graze in broad (places of) the pastures," and has no connection with the rest of the chapter in thought or structure.

> 18–19. (18a) Woe unto them that draw iniquity with cords of vanity, (b) and sin as it were with a cart-rope. (19a) That say, Let him make speed (and) hasten his work, that we may see (it): (b) and let the counsel of the Holy One of Israel draw nigh and come, that we may know (it).

There seems to be no doubt that verse 19 is an explanation of verse 18, just as the second couplet of verse 8 was an expansion of the first, and as verse 12 of verse 11. Verse 19 refers to those who impiously and defiantly challenge the Lord to hasten the threatened "day"; cf. Amos 5.18: "woe unto you that desire the day of the Lord." Verse 18, then, means probably: woe to those who do not seek by repentance to avert punishment, but who actually draw it to themselves by their 'vanity," i.e., "impiety." The words chosen by the Prophet permit this interpretation; '*āwōn*, "iniquity," in 18a, and *χaṭṭā'ā*, "sin," in 18b, both denote also the "result of iniquity and sin," i.e., "punishment." It is a question, then, whether for '*ᵃghālā*, "cart," there should not be read simply the exact parallel to *shāw*, "vanity"; i.e., '*awlā*, "with ropes of unrighteousness," instead of "ropes of a cart." "Cart-ropes," as heavy ropes, or as unbreakable ropes, would not emphasize the idea of speed, or of drawing to oneself; the picture would be that of men dragging their sins behind them, perhaps then of making their own lives burdensome.

In 19a "his work," *maᶜᵃsēhū*, stands in parallelism to "the counsel," or rather here "the plan" (cf. 8.10), of the "Holy of Israel," whereas, of course, normality would place a noun in the first line and the pronoun referring back to it in the second. But *maᶜᵃsēhū* is evidently merely a scribal error for *maᶜᵃsē Yahwè*; cf. 1.4: "they have deserted Yahwè, they have spurned the Holy of Israel"; and see again verse 24 of this chapter.

The "therefore" stanza, describing the specific punishment for this class of sinners, has been lost.

20. (a) Woe unto them that call evil good and good evil, (b) that put darkness for light, and light for darkness; (c) that put bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter!

This stanza is again evidently defective; there is missing not only the "therefore" quatrain, but also the fourth line of the first quatrain. Possibly the third line (c), however, is merely a variant of the second (b), so that a couplet and not merely one stichos is missing; in that case verse 23 should probably be read here, for it is a poor complement to verse 22, dealing with drunkenness, but an excellent one to verse 20: "woe to those who call bad good and good bad; who justify (i.e., call righteous) the wicked, but deny the righteous a just decision" (see below).

21. (a) Woe unto (them that are) wise in their own eyes, (b) and prudent in their own sight.

What would be the natural complement of this couplet is found at present in 12c (q.v.).

22. (a) Woe unto them that are mighty to drink wine, (b) and men of strength to mingle strong drink.

This couplet is in thought a variant of verse 11 (q.v.), though the figure is slightly different. The same sarcasm, however, is evident; here it is: "woe to the valiant in drinking"; there it was: "woe to the industrious in drinking."

23–24. (a) Which justify the wicked for a reward, (b) and take away the righteousness of the righteous from him. (24a) Therefore as the fire devoureth the stubble (b) and the flame consumeth the chaff, (c) (so) their root shall be as rottenness, (d) and their blossom shall go up as dust.

Verse 23, it has been explained, is the natural sequel to verse 20 (q.v.). In verse 24 the Hebrew is extremely awkward; the Massoretic text *wa-χ^{a}shash lehābhā yirpè* is literally: "and chaff of flame sinks down," interpreted "chaff destined for, or belonging to, flame," hence "flaming chaff." Parallelism suggests the simple change of one consonant in *yirpè* so as to read *sōr^{e}phā*, "burning": "therefore as the consuming of stubble (by) tongue of fire, and of chaff (by) burning flame." This, besides, is a more accurate figure; chaff that burns does not sink down—

it is consumed to the roots, as is suggested by the next line. The Septuagint seems to have had the same radical text as the Massoretic; but, making *yirpè* a modifier of "flame" (reading feminine, *tirpè*), it translates φλογὸς ἀνειμένης; since the latter word means not only literally "relaxed," but also "unrestrained," the thought "violent flame" becomes possible in the Greek. The Septuagint, moreover, offers some evidence that the trouble is due to a text confused by crowded or marginal writing; it had placed the χ*ashash*, "chaff," of stichos b in place of *kam-māq*, "like rottenness," in stichos c, and apparently placed *kam-māq* in stichos b as a verb (συγκαυθήσεται: possibly *yidhlōq;* cf. verse 11). Notice that the first couplet does not contain a syntactically complete proposition; this is an example of suspensive parallelism.

Akin to the series of stanzas in chapter 5 is 10.1 (q.v.) : "woe to those who decree unrighteous decrees"; instead of a four line strophe, however, it offers one of six lines.

> 24. (e) Because they have cast away the law of the Lord of Hosts, (f) and despised the word of the Holy One of Israel.

This apparently does not belong immediately with the preceding, because effect and cause have already been specified there. "Because," then, if this section is complete, anticipates the next '*al-kēn*, "therefore" (in verse 25; q.v.) ; but more probably some introductory verses are missing here (see the note to verse 25).

> 25. (a) Therefore is the anger of the Lord kindled against his people (b) and he hath stretched forth his hand against them and smitten them: (c) and the hills did tremble, (d) and their carcasses (were) torn in the midst of the streets. (e) For all this his anger is not turned away, (f) but his hand (is) stretched out still.

The fact that "therefore" here is '*al-kēn*, not *lākhēn* as throughout the chapter, though it must not be pressed, is perhaps supporting evidence for considering this part of a different prophecy. More important is it that verse 25 forms an admirable introduction to the series of verses in chapter 9, beginning with verse 12 (or 13), where the refrain "and *still* is his hand

outstretched,'' the same clause that occurs here in stichos f,
requires before it just such a passage as verse 25: ''therefore he
hath stretched forth his hand.''   On the other hand it has been
noted that the passage beginning 10.1–2, ''woe unto those who
decree unrighteous decrees,'' seems really to belong with the
series of ''woe'' stanzas in chapter 5.

The one weakness in verse 25 lies in stichoi c and d.   These
can hardly be called parallels; and moreover in d ''and their car-
casses'' absolutely disregards stichos c (''the hills did tremble'')
and refers back to ''people'' in a and b.   Stichos c, moreover,
is very short; either a pair of stichoi, then, have fallen out, one
after and parallel to c, the other before and parallel to d; or
else from c there has fallen out a phrase which would make it
properly parallel to d and contain an antecedent for ''their'' in
the latter.   In the first alternative, Is. 24.20 would supply a basis
for a parallel to ''and the hills did tremble,'' namely, ''and the
earth removed out of her place''; while 34.3 and 15.3 would
offer a parallel to ''their carcasses were torn in the midst of the
streets''; namely, ''and the slain were cast in all the squares,''
wa-χalālīm hushlekhū bekhol reχōbhōth.   But as a matter of fact,
the reference to the trembling of the hills seems out of place, re-
garded as reference to an earthquake, and the second alternative
seems to recommend itself.   Read ''and the hills did shake with
the weight of the slain,'' or, better still, with *yinnāzelū* for
yirgezū, ''the hills did flow with the blood of the slain,'' the
figure found in Is. 34.3: ''and the mountains shall be melted
with their blood''; cf. also Ezek. 35.8, ''and I shall fill his moun-
tains with his slain men.''   Other suggestions are: *way-yirbū
ha-χalālīm be-khol 'ārīm,* ''and the slain were many in all the
cities'' (66.16), or ''in their midst,'' *be-qirbām.*   Possibly the
missing word is to be found in the superfluous *qerebh,* ''the
midst,'' in the next stichos; *be-hūçōth,* ''in the streets,'' is even
better than ''in the *midst* of the streets,'' though ''in all the
streets'' might be just as good; *qerebh* occurs 227 times in the
Old Testament; it invariably (except here) refers to the interior
of a single object, or that which is surrounded by a number of

Chapter 5

objects grouped around it.   The accidental omission of the word
$\chi^a l\bar{a}l\bar{\imath}m$, ''slain,'' might have been due to its external similarity
to $h\grave{e}$-$h\bar{a}r\bar{\imath}m$, ''mountains.''

> 26–29. (26a) And he will lift up an ensign to the nations afar,
> (b) and will hiss unto them from the end of the earth: (c) and,
> behold, they [lit. he] shall come with speed swiftly.   (27a) None
> shall be weary nor stumble among them [lit. there is none wearying,
> and there is none stumbling in him]; (b) none shall slumber nor
> sleep [lit. he does not slumber and he does not sleep]; (c) neither
> shall the girdle of their [his] loins be loosed, (d) nor the latchet of
> their [his] shoes be broken: (28a) whose arrows (are) sharp, (b)
> and all their [his] bows bent, (c) their [his] horses' hoofs shall be
> counted like flint, (d) and their [his] wheels like a whirlwind: (29a)
> Their roaring (shall be) like a lion [lit., a roaring to him like the
> lion], (b) they shall roar [lit. either ''and he shall roar'' or sim-
> ply, ''he shall roar''] like young lions, (c) yea they shall roar [and
> he shall growl] and lay hold of the prey, (d) and shall carry (it)
> away safe, (e) and none shall deliver.

Whether this highly dramatic and formally almost perfect
prophetic poem belongs with what immediately precedes or not,
is uncertain.   If it does, it emphasizes still more strongly that
the two words in verse 25 referring to earthquake are to be
emended.

As divided above the prophecy contains sixteen lines; but 27a
and b might each be divided into two stichoi (four in all), giving
eighteen.   Except possibly at two points, the parallelism is
absolutely patent; the distichs group themselves; a closer affinity
between some of the distichs makes possible also a stanza divi-
sion.   The first possible exception is 26c: ''and, behold, he shall
come with speed swiftly,'' which has no exact synonymous par-
allel.   Nevertheless, it does form a complementary parallel to
either or both of the first two stichoi: God signals to them [him],
he calls to them, they answer him; i.e., there may be here a three
line introductory stanza exactly like the opening of chapter 1.
On the other hand the line also is parallel to the following stichos,
27a: Swiftly they come: none wearies or stumbles.   This would
make of the second stanza (beginning, then, with 26c) one of an
odd number of stichoi.   And finally there is the possibility of
regarding 26c as a distich in itself, for it contains two synonyms:

"speedily" and "swiftly"; and despite Joel 4.4, where the same
two adverbs are joined closely together to modify one verb
again, Isaiah may have intended a strong caesura: "and behold!
speedily—swiftly they come"; or else the double adverb with
single verb here may be a scribal error due just to the fact
that such was the common prose usage; Isaiah's *mahēr shālāl
χāsh baz* in 8.1, 3: "Swift [is] booty, speedy [is] prey," showing
parallelism even in a proper name, may indicate that origin-
ally there stood here *hinnē mᵉhēra yaʻᵃlè* or *yāqūm, qal yābhō;*
"lo! swiftly he rises; quickly he comes"; or simply *wᵉ-hinnē
yᵉmahēr, qāl yābhō'*: "lo, he hastens; swiftly he comes." That,
despite the simplicity of the text, the copyist has managed to err
is shown by *gōyīm,* "nations," in verse 26a, a plural for the
intended singular. It should be noted that *gōy,* "nation," with-
out the plural ending, might be a collective, and hence be treated
as a grammatical plural in syntax; and still the author has de-
liberately treated it as a singular in the same sentence ("he will
hiss to him," *lō*) and fifteen times in the whole passage.   It
would be charitable to the copyist to suppose that he found the
letters *ym* on the margin, intended as a correction of a *mahēr,*
found in the text, to *yᵉmahēr,* as proposed above; and that he
mistook those letters as a correction of *gōy,* found in the text, to
gōyīm.   At all events, it must be repeated that the line 26c
as it stands cannot be definitely claimed as a non-parallelistic
stichos.

The other possibly doubtful point occurs in the final stanza,
29a–e, which yields a pentastich as I have divided it.   There is
no reason why Isaiah should not have used a closing pentastich
—particularly if the opening stanza be regarded as having an
uneven number of stichoi.   As a matter of fact, however, the
wording offers internal evidence of disorder.   The repetition in
29a and b of the root *shā'agh,* "roar," with parallel phrases
"like the lion," *kal-lābhī'* and "like the young lions" (or "like
[its] whelps"), *kak-kᵉphīrīm,* is offensive; even the Massoretic
tradition in regard to the exact form of the root (*wᵉ-shā'agh* or
yish'agh) shows possibly some disorder here, though this point

Chapter 5

cannot be pressed by itself; but again just here the Septuagint,
which up to this point represents exactly the Hebrew text, shows
a variant reading. Notice, now, that in the Hebrew there stands
by itself a synonymous verb, *yinhōm,* inserted after "he shall
roar like young lions"; the English addition of "yea" before it
is an attempt to gloss over the inelegance of the Hebrew. At-
tempts to show that there is intended a real progress of ideas
in passing from *yish'agh,* "he roars," to *"yinhōm,* "he growls"
or "moans" (see BDB, s.v. *nāham,* referring to W. R. Smith,
Prophets of Israel, p. 243) are not entirely satisfactory; that
the roar "marks the moment of his spring, the sudden moan-
ing that follows shows that *the prey is secured"* is contradicted
by the Hebrew text itself, which has this order of words: roar,
growl, *then* seize. Curiously enough, the Septuagint has made
the transposition demanded by W. R. Smith's interpretation: καὶ
ἐπιλήψεται καὶ βοήσει ὡς θηρίον: "he seizes and growls like the
wild beast," in which the last word may represent *kaṭ-ṭōrēph,*
literally, "like the seizing one," instead of the Hebrew *ṭereph*
("prey," without the preposition "like"). But the Septuagint
also avoids the double occurrence of *shā'agh,* "roar"; and that
this is not due to the translator's feeling for style is shown by
the fact that he does repeat the other word *yinhōm* ("moan":
βοήσει in verses 29 and 30). For the second occurrence of *sha'agh*
it reads παρέστηκαν, i.e., either *we-nāgash* (or *yiggash*), "he
draws near"; or *we-hissīgh* (or *yassīgh*), he will "reach,"
"overtake" (with *sin* for *samekh*), which would indeed be an
appropriate word in the context; cf. Mic. 6.14: *we-thassēgh
we-lō' taphlīṭ,* "take hold (or reach) but not deliver" (the last
is the same word translated "carry away safe" in the present
Isaiah passage: *yaphlīṭ*). Either the Septuagint has the better
text, or else its variations show at least some disorder in the
tradition. The combined evidence points to the following:
yish'agh was written by mistake; *yinhōm* was written over it or
in the margin, and meant to replace it; the copyist instead added
it after *kak-kephīrīm,* while the Septuagint added it after *yōḥēz,*
supposing that the mark or line indicating erasure of *yish'agh*
referred only to one of its consonants, the middle *'alef.*

The last and concluding line of the poem w^e-'$\bar{e}n$ $ma\varsigma\varsigma\bar{\imath}l$, "and none can save," is intentionally and dramatically short; cf. the note on 1.31. With 5.20–29 read, perhaps, 10.28–32.

> 30. (a) And in that day they [he] shall roar against them [him] like the roaring of the sea; (b) and if one look into the land, behold darkness (and) sorrow, (c) and the light is darkened in the heavens thereof.

Verse 30a, if original here, is a parallel to 29a; but probably it was placed by the compiler after the picture completed in verse 29 because it contains again the verb $yinh\bar{o}m$, "roar." The latter part of the verse is very similar to 8.22; indeed, following 5.30 and extending into or through 8.20 is a series of interrelated prophecies which probably at one time formed a separate collection; if this collection be set aside for the moment, 5.30 and 8.22 come into close physical proximity; and one may well be a mere variant of the other. Though both are defective, the combined result gives a picture quite other than that completed in 5.29: it is not that of a victim in the jaws of a lion, but of a wanderer looking in vain for light and guidance. That the difference in picture begins even in stichos a is evidenced by the change in rhythm, and especially by the phrase "on that day." But whether stichos a belongs with b and c, or is merely a fugitive line, is not certain. $Yinh\bar{o}m$, "he shall roar," can be used figuratively of men, who "groan" in distress, or "roar" in wrath (Prov. 5.11; Ezek. 24.23; cf. Prov. 19.12, 20.2; Ps. 38.9); and though $yinh\bar{o}m$ is not of frequent occurrence, the synonym $sh\bar{a}'agh$ is used also of Yahwè (so in Amos 1.2; Joel 3.16; Jer. 25.30), perhaps as a more forcible alternative for $g\bar{a}'ar$ ("rebuke"; in modern Arabic $ja'ara$, for the classical $ja'ara$, means "bellow," "groan"), which occurs in 17.13, a passage which again is similar in thought to the present one and like it contains the simile of the roaring sea. Here then $yinh\bar{o}m$ might refer either to the rebuke of God administered to the wandering sinner, or to the groan of the wanderer himself.

The syntax in stichoi b, c is most obscure; literally "he will look for the land and behold darkness (of?) distress and light is

CHAPTER 5

darkened in her clouds'' (*ba-'ᵃrīphēhā:* a ἅπαξ λεγόμενον; Eng.
''in the heavens thereof''). The suspicious repetition of the root
χāshakh is avoided by the Septuagint, which omits it in stichos c,
together with *'ōr,* ''light''; 8.22, however, shows that its occur-
rence in stichos b here is superfluous. Possibly for *ba-'ᵃrīphēhā*
simply *'ᵃrāphēl* should be read (cf. Deut. 4.11): ''deep dark-
ness,'' without preposition or suffix: so the Septuagint: σκότος
σκληρὸν; though it attaches the preposition to *çārā* apparently:
ἐν τῇ ἀπορίᾳ (cf. 8.22, where ἀπορία is *çārā*); at any rate the
Septuagint shows clearly the crowding and confusion of the
words as evidenced by the Massoretic text itself. The original
form of the verse may then have been:

> He looks for [or to] the land, and lo! distress!
> For light—and (behold) darkness and cloud [or 'and darkened
>   are the clouds'].

The style and parallelism resemble, then, those of 5.7: ''He
hoped for justice and lo! bloodshed; for righteousness, and lo! '
a cry''; even the paronomasia, striking there, has its counter-
part here, though the play is more subtle: on *hā-'āreç,* ''the
land,'' and, with the same consonants in reverse order, *çārā,*
''distress''; *lā-'ōr,* ''for the light,'' and with quasi-assonance,
'ᵃrāphēl, ''clouds.''

CHAPTER 6

Chapter 6 describes the Prophet's call, and down to verse 8
it is mostly pure prose narration. Where, however, direct dis-
course is introduced, parallelism may possibly have been in-
tended; also, even in verse 7, where Isaiah merely repeats his
own thoughts,

> Woe is me, for I am undone;
>   For I am a man of unclean lips,
>   And amid a people of unclean lips I dwell;
> For mine eyes have seen the king, Lord of Hosts—

a form of ''envelope'' parallelism may be discerned. But the
formal parallelism here may be due merely to force of habit; the

thought parallelism is not perfect.   Again in verse 7, the words of the Seraph, put in the form of direct discourse,

> Thine iniquity is taken away,
> And thy sin purged

form a parallelistic distich; the preceding stichos, however, "Lo, this hath touched thy lips," stands alone; and although it might be omitted as an absolutely superfluous line, since it follows the words, "he laid it upon my mouth," the parallelism itself may be again mere force of habit.   Similarly, in verse 8, where in the words of God,

> Whom shall I send,
> And who will go for us?

stichos b is a parallelistic repetition of stichos a.

However that may be, the moment that the words of God in the form of a prophecy proper—an oracle for the people—begin, parallelism becomes perfect and the diction poetic: verse 9 is a perfect distich; verse 10 consists of two perfect parallelistic tri- stichs with additional inverted intra-parallelism, line answering to line in a manner more exact even than the English reveals, since "shut their eyes" is in Hebrew *hāsha'*, "cause to be smeared," of the same linguistic formation as the parallel *hashmēn* and *hakhbēdh*, "cause to be fat" and "cause to be heavy."

The first possible difficulty occurs in the last phrase of verse 10: "and convert and be healed," *wā-shābh wᵉrāphā' lō;* but there is absolutely no reason why these words here should not be read as a distich:

> And [lest] it return,
> And be healed;

for each verb is a complete proposition, and the parallelism is complementary as is shown clearly in 19.22:

> They shall return [*wᵉ-shābhū*] to the Lord,
> And he shall be entreated and heal them [*rᵉphā'ām*];

with which compare Hosea 6.1:

> Come let us return to the Lord;
> For he hath smitten and will heal us.

No prejudgment as to the necessary length of a line—that a sin-

Chapter 6

gle word, even if it is a complete proposition, may not form a thought and line entity—should outweigh the patent evidence of parallelism. And if nevertheless these words be considered one stichos, they still could not be considered as clearly *not* in parallelism to the rest of the strophe since "lest they be healed" is clearly synonymous with "lest they (the blinded of eyes) see."

Verse 11 begins with the words of the Prophet to God, in the query, "How long?" No parallelism is to be expected there. But the answering prophecy of God begins in verse 11 with a tristich, of which the first two stichoi are in perfect parallelism, while the third, less exact, is suspicious; it continues in a distich (verse 12) of almost perfect parallelism; but ends, in verse 13, in a series of phrases in which, while some of the elements of parallelism can still be seen, the form is blurred, while at the same time: (a) the thought not only lacks clarity but is seemingly illogical; (b) the syntax is correspondingly involved; (c) the choice of words is remarkable, involving not only the weak repetition of one word but the use of it in an almost unintelligibly perverted meaning; (d) the Septuagint shows important variants, while in the rest of the chapter it shows none. The following suggestions are offered.

Verse 11. *Shā'ū,* "be wasted" in stichos a, and *tishā'ē,* "be wasted" (Eng. "be desolate") in stichos c, show inelegant repetition, while *'adh 'asher 'im,* literally "until that when," in stichos a is a rare and overloaded phrase in place of the simple *'adh* (with the imperfect in Is. 22.14, 26.20, 32.15, etc.; with *'im* in Is. 30.17); the redundant *'asher,* then, points to a real variant reading: *'adh yishshā'aᵣū* or *'adh 'im nish'aᵣū* in stichos a, or to *tishā'ēr* in c; the whole of stichos c, however, *wᵉhā-'adhāmā tishā'ē shᵉmāmā,* "and the land be wasted a desolation," is more probably due to marginal variants, as will be explained below.

Verse 12. For *wᵉ-riχaq 'eth hā-'ādhām,* "and the Lord have removed men far away," read *wᵉ-riχaq sho'ath ha-'adhāmā,* "and the Lord extend far the desolation of the land." This gives to *riχaq* its natural meaning when not followed by the preposition *min* ("from"; cf. 26.15, "thou hast far extended

[*riχaqtā*] the boundaries of the land''), and makes it parallel
to the verb in the parallel stichos.   It was probably a correct
but misunderstood gloss *shō'ath* (''desolation,'' intended to cor-
rect *'ēth,* sign of accusative) which was responsible for the
incorrect *shā'ū* in 11a, and for the *tishā'ē* in 11c; while *sheʰmāmā*
in 11c was another gloss on the same word *'eth; shō'ath,* found
also in 10.3, 47.11, would be strictly parallel to *ha-'azūbhā* in
12b. *Hā-'adhāmā,* ''the ground,'' the remaining word in 11c,
is again a true gloss to *hā-'ādhām* in 12a; by restoring it, par-
allelism with *hā-'āreç,* ''the earth'' is made perfect, and the
repetition of *'ādhām,* used just previously (verse 11), avoided.

It is possible, though not necessary, to read for *rabbā* ''be
great,'' *rāχabhā* or *hirχībh,* ''be'' or ''make broad''; *hā-'azūbhā*
would then be not ''the forsaking'' but the ''forsaken portion
of'' as in 17.9.   Reconstruction:

> *wᶜ-riχaq Yahwè shō'ath hā-'adhāmā*
> *we-riχabh hā-'azūbhā bᶜqerebh hā-'āreç.*

Verse 13.   It is not clear, as the verse stands, whether the
Prophet is predicting absolute destruction or the saving of a
remnant; the words ''But yet in it be a tenth, and it shall re-
turn, and shall be eaten'' point to absolute destruction, as do
perhaps the words in verse 10, ''lest it return and be healed'';
and while the concluding phrase in verse 13, ''so the holy seed
(shall be) the substance thereof,'' literally, ''seed of holiness
(is) its pillar,'' seems to point to the contrary, just the words
''holiness its pillar'' are missing from the Septuagint, and abso-
lutely offend all sense of rhythm, style, and syntax.   *Maççebeth,*
A. V. ''substance,'' which occurs inelegantly twice in the sen-
tence, to give it a semblance of fitness is by critics translated
generally in this passage ''stump,'' ''stock,'' ''shoot,'' notwith-
standing the fact that it occurs over forty times in the Old
Testament, invariably with the meaning ''stone pillar,'' while
the language has various common words to denote ''stump,'' or
''stock,'' ''shoot'' of a tree.

On the other hand the evidence is strong that Isaiah did
intend to predict the saving of a remnant—that the absolute

CHAPTER 6

destruction refers to the destruction of the existing Israelitish state ("this people"), not of the race. This is borne out by the Prophet's question "how long, my Lord?"—a strange question if the Prophet meant the preceding words to refer to absolute annihilation; and by the answer in 13a; "until there be a great forsaking" (or as emended, "until the destruction be far and wide") "and until there still be (but) a tenth in the land": *we-'ōdh bāh 'ashīrīyā*. In 13b the phrase "and it shall return," *we-shābhā*, might still point toward the saving of a remnant; but with the phrase "and it shall be eaten," *we-hāyā le-bhā'ēr*, there is a sudden change. If the prophecy ended here, that change, by its very abruptness and unexpectedness would be highly effective, and in keeping with Isaiah's manner. But despite the confusion in the appended simile ("like an oak," etc.), it does not seem possible to treat all of it as a gloss; and the words that are a gloss, "holy" and "substance," have caught apparently the real intention. The difficulty, then, lies in the word *le-bhā'ēr*, "for destruction"—for to predict the saving of a tenth and then the destruction of the tenth could mean nothing but absolute destruction.

The word "for destruction," then, is, I believe, one of those careless copyist's slips, or misreadings, that have been noticed before; it is in part due to 5.5, where it occurs in its proper place, supported by parallelism; here it is not in parallelism, and not in place. For *le-bhā'ēr* read *li-she'ār*, "for a remnant"; both fitness and parallelism are restored: "until there be (but) a tenth, and it be again (or still) for a remnant." Moreover, this supplies just the line that is missing from the cycle of prophecies—the origin here at the outset of the Prophet's career, of his several references to the phrase *she'ār yāshūbh*, applied even as a proper name to his son. *She'ār* for the Prophet means not only "a small remnant," but implies also the development of that remnant into a new growth; in 14.22 it accordingly appears in a series of terms, "name, remnant, son, posterity" (Eng. "nephew"). And that *yāshūbh* does not mean literally "return," but connotes "be in turn," "still be" (cf. *'ōdh*, both

"again" and "still") becomes clear from 10.22, which can mean only: "though thy people, O Israel, are like the sand of the sea, a remnant (and only a remnant) shall still be therein [notice the preposition] : destruction is decreed"—not "a remnant shall return : captivity is decreed."   There is perhaps in this use of *yāshūbh* some reference to *yeshebh*, "remain" (as in its use with *sheᵇbūth*, "captivity," there is a play on the root of that word) ; *yāshūbh* being used because it means also "repent"; the full thought then is: "a remnant shall repent and (therefore) become again a nation."

If this change be possible the way is clear for a reconstruction of the remainder of verse 13.   The picture back of the simile of the oak and terebinth as a symbol of the remnant is suggested by a characteristic feature in some parts of the land.   Thus on the road from Damascus to Brak and the Leja (Hauran), on a hillside in the midst of an otherwise treeless but only partly cultivated plain, grows a single oak that because of its isolation is a landmark and gives to the hill the name *Tell Abū Shajara:* "Hill, Father of the Tree."   If now for the impossible *maççebheth* the participle *muççebheth*, "caused to be standing," i.e., "left standing," be read, the very significant passage Judges 9.6 is recalled: *'ēlōn muççābh*, "the oak left standing (Eng. "plain of the pillar") by Shechem"; this, if the text is correct, also refers to a single oak left when the valley was cleared to make way for the orchards of olives and fields of grain.   *Beᵉ-shallekheth* (Eng., "when they cast"), would mean then either "at the time of felling" or "in the place of felling," "in a clearing."   For *'asher*, "which," read, with dittography of the *n* from the preceding *'āllōn, nish'ār*, "remaining," parallel to *muççebheth* and referring indirectly to *sheᵉ'ār*, restored above.   *Bam zera'* ("in them," "seed": such is the Hebrew order of the words) should be read together *bam-mizra'*, "seedland," occurring again in Is. 19.7, and common in Arabic, *mazra'a*, in that sense; here parallel to "clearing."   The final two words should be omitted.   Lifting the stichos *weᵏha-'allōn 'asher* (i.e., *nish'ar*) *beᵉ-shallekheth* from its disturbing position,

Chapter 6

and placing it parallel to instead of in the heart of the other stichos, there results:

> Kā-'ēlā muççebheth bam-mizra'
> wᵉkhā-'allōn nish'ār bᵉ-shallekheth.
> Like a terebinth left standing in a sown-land,
> Like an oak remaining in a clearing.

Compare then also 10.19, where Isaiah again uses *shᵉ'ār:* ''and the remainder of the trees of the forest shall be few in number.'' Notice that the restoration of the couplet above, aside from the omission of the last two words, involves nothing but transposition, and a disregard in places of the (late) Massoretic vowels.

Chapter 7

2. See on verse 4.

3. The reference to the scene of the prophecy as at ''the Upper Pool'' (probably the Pool of Siloam) possibly was intended for chapter 8; these two prophecies are absolutely parallel, and refer probably to the course of the same event; the reference to ''the waters of Shiloh'' in 8.5 receives a peculiar appropriateness if brought into connection with this reference to the pool in chapter 7; and the reference to the Prophet's son Shear-Jashub here in 7.3 has some point if connected with 8.2, where Isaiah's wife and unborn son are mentioned.

4. ''From these two tails'': ''two'' is possibly an error; read ''from these tails,'' referring not to the two kings themselves, but their agents in a plot to overthrow the dynasty. The historical introduction in verse 1, if it implies that the two kings themselves were at the time of the prophecy actually besieging Jerusalem, must be disregarded (see also on verse 14); it is at variance with verse 2, according to which it was told merely ''that Syria is confederate with Ephraim,'' literally, ''has alighted upon Ephraim''—a remarkable verse if the Syrian and Israelitish kings were actually near the gates, as would be also verse 15, promising relief from the supposed siege only after several years. In verses 5 and 6, too, the prophecy is directed

against Syria and Ephraim ''because they said 'let us go up'—
not because ''they have come up''; see also on verse 8. ''Tails,''
then, has here a double meaning: the conspirators, or threaten-
ing emissaries (see 8.12) are only ''tails'' (the ''heads'' are men-
tioned in verse 8); only smoking stumps, smoking because of
the heat of the real fire—the anger of the two kings or the two
countries: ''of Rezin with (lit. ''and'') Syria and the son of
Remaliah''; but either insert ''and Ephraim'' (*'Eph* as a re-
duplication from *'aph* [''anger], *rayim* from $R^e çin$), or omit
''with Syria.'' Restoring the parallelism by transposition of
$hā-{}^{'a}sh\bar{e}n\bar{i}m$:

> *Miz-zanbhōth hā-'ādhīm hā-'ēllè*
> *hā-${}^{'a}shēnīn bo-χ^orī 'aph R^eçīn ū-bhen-R^emalyāhū:*
> From these ends of fire brands,
> Smoking through the wrath of Rezin and the son of Remaliah.

5. Insert $χāshabh$, ''devised,'' before $rā'ā$, ''evil,'' and par-
allel to $yā'aç$, ''taken counsel''; the latter with $'al$, ''against,''
requires no cognate accusative to give it the desired meaning;
cf. 19.17: ''because of the counsel of the Lord which he hath
counselled ($yā'aç$) against it.'' For $χāshabh rā'ā 'al$ cf. Jer.
48.2: ''they have devised evil against it [$χ\bar{o}sh^ebh\bar{u} rā'ā 'ālēha$]:
come let us cut it off from being a nation.'' Restore:

> *Ya'an kī yā'aç 'ālēkhā 'Arām*
> *way-yaχshōbh rā'ā 'Ephrayim.*

6. $N^eqīçennā$, ''let us vex her,'' is literally ''fill her with
loathing,'' and might be then ''fill with disaffection'' (the Sep-
tuagint συλλαλήσαντες αὐτοῖς ''talk with them,'' may again have
intended a reference to plotting); it is true that the same root
below seems to mean ''fear'' (hence, here, ''let us fill her with
fear''); but this is hardly appropriate in the context of verse 6.
Easy changes give the roots $qāçaç$: ''cut up'' (parallel then
to the next verb, ''make a breach therein''); $qīç$ or $yāqaç$,
''awaken,'' ''stir up''; $çūq$, ''bring into straits''; or finally,
$n^eqīçennā$ may be merely a variant of the next word $nabhqī'enna$;
if omitted, the same collocation of words remains as in II Chron.
21.17: $way-ya'^alū bhīhūdhā way-yibhqā'ūhā$, ''they came up
into Judah and broke into it.''

Chapter 7

"And set a king in the midst of it, (even) the son of
Tabeal": the casual nature of the final phrase is hardly con-
cealed by the English insertion of "even." The indefinite
cognate accusative (lit. "let us make king a king") should
properly denote that the name of the king is unknown or to be
concealed, the emphasis being placed on the appointing power;
here practically then "let us exercise the king-of-kingship"; this
interpretation, too, would explain the unique use of the phrase
"in the very midst of her." The proper name may have been
appended: (a) as a later gloss (like other proper names in this
series of prophecies) ; or (b) to produce appositional parallel-
ism: "we will place a king in her midst, [will place] the son of
Tabeal"; or (c) to call particular attention, by the very un-
usualness of construction, to the personality of the chosen king;
in the last case, the effect in the present instance is that of sar-
casm: the son of Tabeal is, indeed, otherwise unknown to history,
and the name as here vocalized seems to mean "Son-of-good-for-
nothing," instead of "Son of God-is-good," as the consonants
would normally be vocalized to indicate. But the words are put
in the mouth of the Syrian and Israelitish kings, and the sarcasm,
as well as the emphasis, would be misplaced; in any case, they
are probably a later addition.

8. "For the head of Syria is Damascus, and the head of
Damascus is Rezin." This cryptic utterance is generally in-
terpreted as though it read: "For Damascus is the head of
Syria," i.e., of Syria alone, and will not be head of Judah; but
this is not the natural implication of the words. The sentence
recalls in form a very well-known type of proverb: "Everything
has a head, and the head of x is y"; e.g., in Arabic, "the head
(principal part, essence) of religion is the fear of God"; "the
head of kindness is promptness"; in Hebrew (Ps. 119.160), "the
head (essence) of God's word is truth." Such an interpretation
is possible here also if the interpretation suggested above for
verse 4, with its emphasis on the word "tails," be accepted: the
"heads" of the conspiracy against Judah are at Damascus and
Samaria; the "heads" of the capitals are the kings: scil., when

God brings about *their* defeat (at the hands of Assyria?) the
conspiracy and plot fall to the ground.   See also on 8.9–16, with
the emphasis on plans and, possibly, conspiracy.

"And within threescore and five years shall Ephraim be
broken, that it be not a people." Placed so as to explain the ref-
erence to Aram—not to Ephraim—and interrupting a perfect
parallelism, but itself without a parallel, this line offers perhaps
the most convincing evidence of two facts: the presence of mar-
ginal notes, and their subsequent insertion and misplacement by
copyists.

10. Parallelism in the section 10–17 is not clear; nor, indeed,
is there here the ordinary kind of oracle, the simple word of
God; but it is prophecy by means of "signs" and symbolic
names; and despite the fact that verse 10 begins "and God
spoke again to Ahaz," it is evident that it is the Prophet who
is speaking, and speaking not in the usual entire identification
of himself with the voice of God.   In diction, also, the prevailing
tone is that of prose and not ecstatic poetry; the contrast is
vivid between this section and verse 18, for instance; and
probably, then, in this sort of omen and symbol prophecy no
parallelism was intended; though the habit of speaking in par-
allelism may have unconsciously led to such a phrase as is found
in verse 11: "Make it deep as Sheol, or make it high as Heaven";
so also verse 12: "I will not ask, and I will not try the Lord,"
with which compare 8.16: "Bind the testimony, seal the law
among my disciples"; in both, the second line contains a word
or phrase ("the Lord," "among my disciples") which belongs
in thought also in the first line.   See also 8.1–5.

14. "Behold a virgin shall conceive"; literally "behold, the
young woman." The inadequacy of the introductory setting in
verse 3 becomes unmistakable when viewed in the light of this
passage.   Evidently in place of the Prophet's son Shear-jashub,
who plays no part in this scene, there should have been intro-
duced in anticipation of this particular prophecy "the young
woman" whose presence is presupposed in verse 14.   As the text
stands the conclusion is inevitable that the "young woman"

Chapter 7

stood in some relationship to Isaiah; possibly she was the wife of the Prophet's son, Shear-jashub; in that case there would be some point to verse 3; possibly she was the Prophet's wife, called "the prophetess" in 8.3; this would mean either that the two prophecies refer to one and the same event, the two names being variant traditions of one and the same; or that they refer to two events distant from one another by a considerable lapse of time, reference being then to the birth of two sons of the Prophet.

There is a curious lack of appropriateness in what is apparently intended to be the explanation of the name "Immanuel": "The land shall be deserted whose kings thou fearest"; it contains no direct reference to that name. Contrast with this 8.3: "Call his name 'Swift-is-booty, Quick-is-spoil,' because the riches of Damascus and the spoil of Samaria shall be taken away"; or 9.6, where at least the word *shālōm,* "peace," appears in the explanation of the name contained in verse 5. If the name "Immanuel" is indeed correct in 7.14, it is at least necessary to read after 7.16 the poem on Immanuel now standing in 8.9ff., and ending *"ki 'immānū-'ēl,"* "for God is with us," which is exactly such a phrase as should be expected somewhere after verses 14–16; the poem is out of place where it stands, moreover; and on the other hand 7.17, which does follow here, is also decidedly out of place; notice, too, that the theme of the poem in 8.9 is the frustration of a "plan," *'ēçā,* the same root that occurs in 7.5 ("because Aram and Ephraim planned against thee"). The prophecy 8.11ff. also seems to belong in this chapter; i.e., either both chapters refer to the same event, or there is considerable misplacement of verses.

15. "Butter and honey shall he eat, that he may know to refuse the evil and choose the good" is nothing but a conflation of two marginal passages, both of which are found also elsewhere in the text: one is in verse 16, immediately following; the other in verse 22 ("butter and honey shall every one eat"). Omitting this intrusion, with the resultant (verse 14) "She will call his name 'Immanuel,' (verse 16) for before the boy knows," etc., compare 8.3, "call his name 'Quick-is-Booty,' (verse 4) for before the boys knows," etc.

16. See above, on verse 15.

17. The verse is misplaced; it belongs with 8.4. *'Eth melekh 'Ashshūr,* "the king of Assyria" is again a gloss; here it absurdly stands in apposition with the word "days."

18–24. A series of parallelistic strophes, probably detached, and which if they belong in this series at all, should be read with chapter 8. Notice the parallelistic alliteration in verse 19: *naχᵃlē, nᵉqīqē, na‘ᵃçūçīm, nahᵃlōlīm,* the last a ἄπαξ λεγόμενον chosen for its further morphometrical correspondence with the third.

20. *Bᵉ-‘ebhrē nāhār,* literally "by the regions beyond the river," is an awkwardly worded parallel to "by a razor of hire"; and of it the following phrase, "by the king of Assyria," is a redundant variant; probably the latter is a gloss, while the former should be read *bᵉ-χerebh nēkhār,* "with a foreign knife"; cf. Ezek. 5.1: "take a sharp knife [χerebh], take thee a barber's razor [ta‘ar]"; for χerebh cf. also Josh. 5.2, 3. The type of suspensive parallelism used here is very similar to that found in chapter 4 (q.v.), but is peculiar in that the fourth stichos, instead of being an incomplete member like the third, is a complete proposition, and while parallel to the third is also parallel to the first three stichoi as a whole; exactly the same structure is found in 10.20.   Read:

> *Bay-yₒ̄m hā-hū'*
> *yᵉghallaχ 'ᵃdhōnai bᵉtha‘ar has-sᵉkhīrā*
> *ū-bhᵉχerebh nēkhār*
>   *'eth-hā-rōsh wᵉ-sa'ar hā-raghlayim*
>   *wᵉ-gham 'eth haz-zāqān tispè (or yispè).*

21. "Two sheep": *shᵉtē çōn* (the latter word means "flock," as *bāqār* means "herd"); the analogy of "a heifer of the herd," English "a young cow," suggests that for *shᵉtē* there be read *sē,* "a sheep (or goat) from the flock" (cf. Ezek. 45.15, Deut. 14.4).

22. "For butter and honey shall (he) eat" (*kī χem'ā ū-dhᵉbhash yōkhēl*): this clause was edited into verse 15 also; it would seem, then, that it must have stood in the margin between two columns in which verses 15 and 21 stood approximately

Chapter 7

opposite each other, so that the copyist, doubtful where it belonged, inserted it in both places; it really belongs in neither; it disturbs the parallelism as well as obscures the thought; its reference to "honey" is out of place in immediate connection with the series "cows," "goats," "milk" and "butter." The theme in general is the same as that of 4.2; there the extraordinary fertility of the soil, here the extraordinary yield of animal products in the Messianic age, is the immediate subject. Compare Deut. 32.14: "butter of kine and milk of sheep," $\chi^a l\bar{e}bh$ $\varsigma\bar{o}n$, in a picture of extraordinary plenty; there "honey" and "oil" are the theme of a separate distich; and it may well be that the reference to honey is merely misplaced in verse 22, and is the remainder of another (marginal) distich the rest of which is lost. Restoration:

> And on that day:
> Each one shall nourish a heifer from the herd and a goat from the flock,
> And because of the richness of the yield of milk, all left in the land shall eat cream.

The insertion of this irrelevant distich here may be due to the mention of sheep and oxen in the next section.

23, 24. The inelegant repetition of the phrase "thistles and thorns," in various constructions and positions, is sufficient evidence of the disorder of the passage; evidently, if one or two repetitions of the phrase were not due merely to carelessness, the words should be in the nature of a refrain. Transpose the section beginning ba-$\chi i\varsigma\varsigma\bar{i}m$ ("with arrows," in verse 24) and ending with $tihy\grave{e}$ ("shall be," in same verse) to the end of the poem; omit $l\bar{o}'$ $th\bar{a}bh\bar{o}'$ $sh\bar{a}mm\bar{a}$ $yir'ath$ as a doublet in part of $y\bar{a}bh\bar{o}'$ $sh\bar{a}mm\bar{a}$ (now in 24; the section stood in the margin; hence the doublet as well as the misplacement); and a slight change of w^e-$h\bar{a}y\bar{a}$ to $yihy\grave{e}$ in verse 25 will yield the following:

> W^e-$h\bar{a}y\bar{a}$ bay-$y\bar{o}m$ ha-$h\bar{u}$, $yihy\grave{e}$
> kol $m\bar{a}q\bar{o}m$ $'^a sher$ $yihy\grave{e}$ $sh\bar{a}m$ $'eleph$ $gephen$ b^e-$'eleph$ $k\bar{a}seph$
> $lash$-$sh\bar{a}m\bar{i}r$ $w^e lash$-$shayith$ $tihy\grave{e};$

> w^e-$khol$ $h\bar{a}$-$'\bar{a}re\varsigma$ w^e-$khol$ $h\grave{e}$-$h\bar{a}r\bar{i}m$ $'^a sher$ bam-ma' $dh\bar{e}r$ $y\bar{e}'$ $\bar{a}dh\bar{e}r\bar{u}n$
> $sh\bar{a}m\bar{i}r$ wa-$shayith$ $yihy\bar{u};$

> *we-hāyā le-mishlaχ shōr ule-mirmas sè,*
> *ba-χiççim ūbhaq-qèsheth yābhō' shāmmā,*
> *kī shāmīr wa-shayith yihyè.*

Notice the unusual style of this section; it contains a number of double phrases, not distributed in parallelism, both in the refrain, "thorns and thistles," and also in each line: "a thousand vines at a thousand shekels"; "all the land and all the mountains"; "sending of oxen and treading of sheep"; "with arrows and with bows." The doubling recurs consistently and is itself therefore parallelistic.

CHAPTER 8

1–4. The "great tablet," the witnesses, and the birth of Isaiah's son. No parallelism need be sought here (see on 6.1); though verse 1 contains words of God, they are not an oracle for the people, but merely a direction for the Prophet. The verses are, moreover, but loosely connected, and refer probably to three separate symbolic acts: (1) the writing of a scroll or tablet to be publicly displayed so that, as in a similar case Habakkuk (2.2) expresses it, "he may run that readeth it"; (2) the writing of a sealed document, for which the taking of the witnesses mentioned in verse 2 would have some point; (3) the birth of the Prophet's son. The inference as to the sealed document is supported by verse 16, in which the terms *te'ūdhā*, "attestation," or "testimony," and *χathōm*, "seal up," recall the symbolic legal act performed by Jeremiah (32.10, 11), where the terms "seal" and "take witnesses" occur again, and where the sentence "and I took the evidence of the purchase, both that which was sealed (*hè-χāthūm*) ... and that which was open (*hag-gālūi*)," seems to show, as suggested in Isaiah, two separate documents (*gillāyōn, te'ūdhā*), one open, the other sealed and to be opened at the fulfilment of the prophecy for which the Prophet waits (8.17): *we-hiqqīthī le-Yahwè*, recalling in the Habakkuk passage mentioned above *haqqē lō*, "though it tarry, wait for it."

6. "And rejoice in Rezin and Ramaliah's son," *ū-mesōs 'eth Reçīn ū-bhen Remalyāhū*. Syntax and style show that this phrase

Chapter 8

can not be original; *'eth Reçîn ū-bhen Remalyāhū*, like *'eth melekh 'Ashshūr we-'eth kol kebhôdhô,* ''even the king of Assyria and all his glory,'' are appositional glosses, and to be rejected; this leaves *ū-mesôs*, literally ''and rejoicing,'' to be coupled with *le-'aṭ*, ''softly,'' and formal parallelism with verse 7 is thus established. *Māsôs* is perhaps governed by the preposition in *le-'aṭ* (cf. *le-phetha'*, ''suddenly'' in 29.5; *le-shālôm*, ''peace-fully,'' Gen. 44.17); or it is an adverbial accusative (Gesenius I. 118, 5c). There is probably a reference in the term so used to an underlying root-meaning other than ''joy''; words denoting ''agile,'' ''light'' are derived from the Arabic *shūsh* and *shūs;* and it is a striking coincidence that *mushāwish* (var. *mushāwis*) denotes water ''not to be seen, or hardly to be seen, by reason of its remoteness from the surface of the ground'' (Lane; this signification, however, is derived by Arabic lexicographers from the root-meaning ''look with the corner of the eye'')—an excellent description of the waters of Shiloh. The root *māsas* (with *samekh*) also would yield an appropriate term, ''faintly,'' though this root, literally ''to melt,'' is normally used only of the heart; if *mesôs* is an infinitive from this root, as it is in 10.18, cf. for the construction Is. 60.14: *hālekhū sheχôaχ,* ''come bending.''

8. ''And the stretching out of his wings shall fill the breadth of thy land, O Immanuel'': the absurdity of directing this remark to the unborn or infant Immanuel is self-evident; little better is the interpretation which leaves ''thy'' indefinite, and translates *'immānū-'ēl* in its present position as an exclamation, ''God is with us'': with or without a preceding *kî*, ''for,'' replacing the suffix *kā*, ''thy,'' it belongs with what follows, verses 9 and 10, which in turn belong after 7.14 (q.v.).

The metaphor in *kenāphāw,* ''wings of the flood,'' need not in itself be questioned; cf. ''wings'' of the wind, ''wings'' of a garment (i.e., skirts), ''wings'' of the land or earth (its regions or extremities); there is by implication perhaps a reference to the ''wings'' of the invading army which is ''the flood.'' But the line is over-long, and the syntax not above suspicion.

<div align="right">CHAPTER 8</div>

W*e*-hāyā m*e*lō' rōχabh 'arçō alone would mean "and it (the flood) shall fill the breadth of his land," and would leave "stretching out of his wings," *muṭṭōth k*e*nāphāw*, as the remnant of another line, or perhaps as a complete line in itself; for *muṭṭōth* can be either a verbal noun parallel to *m*e*lō* (thus: "and [the flood shall be] a spreading out to its [Judah's] ends," i.e., "shall spread to its farthest ends"), or a passive participle, predicate to *k*e*nāphāw*, though here standing before it (thus: "its [the flood's] wings are outstretched"); for the type of resulting strophe, with circumstantial clauses, see below, verse 22 (where the reconstructed text will be found); also 3.16; and for the syntactic variations in parallel clauses, 1.21.

Probably there should follow here verse 21 (q.v.).

9. *Rō'ū,* "associate yourselves" (but also "be broken"; or "be evil," or, reading *rū'ū,* "shout") and *wā-χōttū,* "and ye shall be broken in pieces," in stichos a are evidently due to a marginal reading, "*wā-χōttū: rō'ū,*" intended for the *wā-χōttū* of stichos b or c, and indicating that in one of those places *rō'ū* was to be read instead of it. But a copyist mistook the reference and referred it to stichos a, writing *rō'ū* in place of an original *shim'ū,* "hear," and *wā-χōttū* in place of an original *yaχdaw* ("altogether"; cf. 10.8), readings which are demanded by the parallelism. For the second *hith'āzz*e*rū,* "gird you," read possibly the synonym: *hithχagg*e*rū;* the root *χāghar,* "gird," is used both of the sword and of sackcloth; notice, then, the Isaianic play on words, as well as the sudden turn again: "arm yourselves—but for defeat, not for victory." Read then:

<div align="center">

'Immānū-'ēl

Shim'ū 'ammīm yaχdāw
w*e*-ha'*a*zīnū kol merχ*a*qē 'āreç

hith'azz*e*rū wā-χōttū
hitχagg*e*rū wā-rō'ū

'ūçū 'ēçā w*e*-thūphar
dabb*e*rū dhābhār w*e*lō' yāqūm

kī 'immānū 'ēl.

</div>

CHAPTER 8

11. ''For the Lord spoke thus to me with a strong hand and instructed me that I should not walk in the way of this people, saying.'' The sentence is evidently corrupt, because: (a) ''the Lord spoke thus,'' *kō 'āmar Yahwè* is invariably followed immediately by the direct discourse; (b) ''to speak with a strong hand'' is linguistically too unusual and illogical to have been used by Isaiah; even Ezekiel must say: ''the hand of the Lord was strong upon me''; (c) the verb ''instruct'' (*yāsar;* lit. ''discipline,'' ''chasten,'' ''admonish'') is nowhere else used to characterize the prophetic inspiration: God does not ''admonish'' his prophets; (d) the following direct discourse (verse 12) is in the second person plural; it is evidently addressed to some group who stand apart from ''this people''—to ''the House of David'' perhaps—and to whom probably a direct reference was made in the original of the corrupt passage; the form was: ''thus said the Lord to me, 'admonish the house of David from going in the way of this people, saying.' '' Or barely possible: ''The Lord spoke thus to me, with a strong hand deterring me [*yesīrēnī*] from going on the way of this people.'' As the sentence is prose, parallelism is not present to point the way to restoration.

12. *Qesher* (''conspiracy''; but possibly ''alliance''), if correct, refers probably to the attitude of that party in Judah which was influenced by the activity of the Syrian emissaries and by fear of the threatened invasion if it refused to yield (see above, on 7.4). Read possibly *qādhōsh,* ''holy,'' however, in view of the contrasting *taqdīshū,* ''make,'' ''call holy,'' or ''sanctify,'' in verse 13; or for the latter some denominative from *qesher:* ''with *him* [God] shall ye make an alliance.'' If neither, the rhetorical effect is still present, in the physical resemblance of the roots *qāsher* and *qādhash,* and is further heightened by *mōqēsh,* ''snare,'' in verse 14; the same paronomasia and the same thought are seen in Prov. 20.25: *mōqēsh 'ādhām yāla' qōdhesh,* ''a snare is it for a man to carelessly say 'holiness.' '' If *qādhōsh* or *qōdhesh* be substituted in the present passage, its exact signification is to be determined by reference

CHAPTER 8

to such an idiom as "sanctifying" or "consecrating" war (Joel 4.9; Mic. 3.5; Jer. 6.4, 22.7, 51.27, 28; in Is. 13.3 $m^equddāshai$ is "my consecrated warriors").

W^e-$lō'$ $tha'rīçō$, "nor be afraid": insert as object w^e-eth $ma'{}^{a}rīçō$, "that which, or those who, cause them to be afraid," parallel to $mōrā'ō$, "their fear."

14. W^e-$hāyā$ l^e-$miqdāsh$, $ūl^e$-$'ebhen$ $negheph$, etc.: "and he shall be for a sanctuary and [Eng. "but"] for a stone of stumbling and for a rock of offence": the subject of the verb is evidently not "He" (God), but "it" ("the saying 'conspiracy,' 'holy' "), or "they" (read we-$hāyū$ or $w^ehēmmā$); and $miqdāsh$ is evidently an error for some word denoting "stumbling-block"; not only logic demands this, but also parallelism; the three verbs "stumble," "fall," and "be broken" point to three corresponding nouns, as the two verbs "be snared" and "be taken" are parallel to the two nouns "gin" and "snare." Lagarde's proposed $miqqāsh$ (from $nāqash$, "strike," hence "stumbling-block"; cf. BDB, s.v. $miqdāsh$) is then, very likely correct; it is logical, restores the parallelism, and preserves paronomasia just at the point it is required; cf. Prov. 20.25 cited above; cf. also Ex. 34.12; Josh. 23.13 (covenant with the Canaanites is a "snare"); and for the type of sentence, Is. 30.2, 3: " (Woe those) that ... strengthen themselves in the strength of Pharaoh; for the strength of Pharaoh shall be to you a shame."

"For the two houses of Israel": "two," $sh^enē$, is probably an error due to a conflation of $bēth$, "house of," and $b^enē$, "children of," or $shōkh^enē$, "inhabitants of"; the latter would be the natural parallel to $yōsh^ebhē$ in the next stichos. The Septuagint reads "for the houses of."

15. $Rabbīm$, "many": perhaps dittography from preceding letters; cf. 28.13.

16. From here through verse 20, simple prose may have been intended; the words are the Prophet's own words, not Yahwè's. In verse 16, "Bind up the testimony, seal the law, among my disciples," the last phrase has no parallel (cf. 7.12); but the Septuagint at the end of verse 15 has an added phrase ($ἄνθρωποι$)

Chapter 8

ἐη ἀσφαλείᾳ: possibly *la-bheṭaχ* (cf. Gen. 34.25, Lev. 26.5) and originally *leᵉ-bhōṭᵉχai:* "for those who trust in me"; if this phrase really belongs after "bind up the testimony," read also *leᵉ-limmūdhai,* "for my disciples."

17. Parallelism in this verse would be restored by transposing from the end of 18, where it is decidedly inconsequential, the phrase "that dwelleth in Mount Zion," parallel and in contrast to "that hideth his face from the house of Jacob." Perhaps the misplacement is farther reaching, and verse 18 should stand before verse 17; at present verse 17 follows verse 16 without any introductory word to mark the transition; while verse 18 has the introductory word *hinnē,* "behold," where it is not needed.

19, 20. "In behalf of the living to the dead": by reading this phrase after the words "that peep and that mutter," as parallelism suggests, fairly good order is restored to the passage; "shall not a people turn to its god" belongs in the answer to be made by the true believers, parallel to "to the oracle and the testimony"; it is probably a proverb, or based on one, like that quoted also by Micah (4.5): "every people walks in the name of its god." The two interrogatives *halō',* *'im lō'* are parallels (cf. 10.8), with the force of particles of "requiring with urgency": "surely you [*tōmᵉrū* for *yōmᵉrū;* or 'surely they,' i.e., my disciples] shall say"; the whole passage thus becomes clear: "Behold I and my children are prophetic signs; and I shall now wait for the fulfilment of those signs; the 'testimony' is sealed among my disciples; then when any appeal to their oracles to win you to their views, your answer shall be: 'a people turns unto its God'—'to the law! to the testimony!'" There is a sarcastic contrast implied, then: they say "turn to the dead in behalf of the living"; but you answer: "turn to (the living) God" (cf. Is. 37.17).

"Because (there is) no light in them," literally, "to which there is no dawn," *'ēn lō shaχar:* if this is a prose passage, not balanced, and this phrase belongs here, *shaχar* is possibly rather "enchantment," "magic": they shall answer with the simple phrase "go to the testimony," which needs no accompaniment of

CHAPTER 8

incantation, as does the summoning of the dead. Or *shaχar* is from the root "to seek" (parallel to *dārash* here, as in Ps. 78.34), and the clause is a defective remnant. But if the reference to the dawn is correct, the phrase belongs at the end of verse 21.

21. This fits admirably on to verse 8 (q.v.); portion of another version or line is found in 5.30 (q.v.); viewed together, the picture presented is one of the most striking in Isaiah: the Assyrian rivers rushing neck-deep and roaring like the ocean itself against the struggling, fleeing Judah, who looks in vain for solid earth and for light, and is weakened by hunger and anguish until he curses his god—and is engulfed; for death can be the only outcome of such a curse. But the picture as it stands is obscured.

"When they [lit. 'he'] shall be hungry": for this weak repetition of "hunger," *yir'abh*, read a psychologically more fitting word, such as *yikh'abh*, "be in anguish," as expressing a state that would lead to the curse; cf. Job 2.5: "yea, all that a man hath will he give for his life; but ... touch his bone and flesh, and he will curse thee to thy face"; or 2.13, 3.1: "for they saw that his grief (*ke'ēbh*, "anguish"; cf. Is. 17.11) was very great. After this opened Job his mouth, and cursed his day." Or read perhaps *yiz'aph* or *yikh'as:* "when he will be angry and vexed."

"Curse their [lit. his] king and their [his] God" (cf. I Kings 21.10; Lev. 24.15); the Hebrew "by his king and god" is probably an attempt to soften the original wording; notice that the Septuagint for the same purpose reads "the ordinances of your fathers" in place of "their God." But this must be the climax and the end of the picture; transfer it to the end of verse 22.

"And look upward": the doublet in 5.30 (q.v.) adds "there is darkness (cf. Is. 59.9, "we hope for the light, and lo, there is darkness"); the missing line, however, is perhaps found at the end of verse 20 ("where there is no dawn"); or, as a remnant, in "darkness" in the next verse (further evidence of confusion in the text).

22. "Dimness of anguish [*me'ūph çūqā*] and driven into

Chapter 8

darkness [*wa-'ªphēlā mᵉnuddāχ*]'': The second phase, literally
''darkness driven,'' though syntactically unusual, is still prob-
ably correct; cf. in 16.2 the even more remarkable *qēn mᵉshullaχ*,
''nest-driven'' for ''driven from the nest.''   But read for
mᵉꞌūph the form found in 23, *mūꞌaph*, and derive from *yāꞌaph*,
''be weary''; cf. Dan. 9.21, *mūꞌāph bīꞌāph*, ''wearied with weari-
ness.''   ''Wearied with anguish,'' ''in darkness driven'' are
parallels to ''hardly bestead and hungry'' in verse 21, and
probably belong immediately after.   The text to this point might
be then:

> 8.8   *wᵉ-χālaph bīhūdhā shāṭōph wᵉ-'ābhōr*
>   *adh çawwār yaggīª'*
>   *ū-khᵉnāphāw muṭṭōth*
>   *wᵉ-hāyā mᵉlō' rōχabh 'arçō*
> [5.30   *wᵉ-yinhōm 'ālāw kᵉnahªmath yām.*]
>
> 8.21a   *wᵉ-'ābhar bāh niqshê wᵉ-rā'ēbh*
> 8.22c   *mūꞌaph çūqā*
>   *wa-'ªphēlā mᵉnuddāχ*
> 8.21c   *ū-phānā lᵉ-māꞌlā wᵉ-hinnē χªshēkhā*
>   *wᵉ-'el 'ereç yabbīṭ wᵉ-hinnē çārā*
>
> 8.21b   *wᵉ-hāyā kī yikh'abh wᵉ-hithqaççaph*
>   *wᵉ-qillēl malkō wēlōhāw.*

23. (Eng. 9.1) : ''Nevertheless the dimness shall not be such
as was in her vexation,'' *kī lō mūꞌāph la-'ªsher mūçāq lāh.*   This
(and the remainder of the verse) forms a gloss to 9.2 (Eng. 3),
which in the consonantal text reads: ''Thou hast made great a
nation, not hast thou increased joy,'' and was evidently under-
stood by the glossator: ''thou hast made great a nation whose
joy thou hadst not increased''; to it then are added two glosses,
or a gloss in two parts; one uses the phraseology of the lines
immediately preceding: ''Not is (now) darkness [or weariness]
to her [i.e., the land] that was [formerly] oppressed''; the other
interprets 9.2 with greater geographical precision: ''At the first
he dishonored [Eng. ''lightly afflicted,'' *hēqal*] the land of
Zebulon and the land of Naphtali, and afterward he honored
[Eng. did more grievously afflict, *hikhbīdh*] the way of the
sea, beyond Jordan, Galilee of the nations''; here *lō' highdaltā,*

literally "thou didst not increase," is glossed by *hēqal,* while *hirbīthā,* "thou hast multiplied," is glossed by *hikhbīdh.* The geographical setting is due, perhaps, to a gloss on the words *hag-gōy, lō',* "the nation, not," namely, *gīl,* or *gīlā,* "rejoicing"; the words *gīl, lō',* and *hag-gōy* being misread *gᵉlīl hag-gōyīm,* "Galilee of the nations."

CHAPTER 9

2.* *'Or nāghah 'ᵃlēhem,* "upon them hath the light shined": since *'ōr* is the subject of the previous stichos, read *'ōr* here as the verb and *nōghah,* "radiance," as the subject; cf. Amos 5.20; Is. 60.3; this not only prevents a weak repetition, but restores the natural order of predicate and subject.

3. *Lō' highdaltā,* "not increased the joy": see 8.23 (9.1).

.4. The unusual phrases *'ōl subbᵉlō,* "yoke of his burden," and *maṭṭē shikhmō,* "staff of his shoulder," are possibly due to confusion; *'ōl* and *sōbhel* are natural parallels; read, then, *'ōl shikhmō,* "yoke of his shoulder" (see note on verse 6), and *sōbhel çawwārō,* "burden of his neck" (cf. 10.27: "his burden from thy shoulder, his yoke from thy neck"); and then *maṭṭē ham-makkēhū,* "staff of his smiter" (cf. Is. 14.29, *shebheṭ makkēhū*), parallel to *shebheṭ han-nōghēs bō,* "the rod of his oppressor." On the type of strophe in this verse and the next. with parallelism introduced before the syntactic structure is complete (in the Hebrew the predicate "thou hast broken" stands after the three subjects, not before), see 4.3. Add parallel to "the day of Midian," *kᵉ-yōm* or *bᵉ-dherekh miçrayim,* "after the manner of Egypt," as in 10.26.

5. For *bᵉ-ra'ash,* "with confused noise," read *bi-rᵉmōs, bi-rᵉphōs,* or *bᵉ-mirmās,* "with trampling" (cf. Is. 16.4, "the trampler has ceased from the earth"), or some other synonym of *χāmās,* "violence," as a fitting parallel to "bloodshed"; the Septuagint apparently read *bᵉ-mirmā* "with deceit." For the

---

* Figures refer to verses as numbered in the English Bible; verses in the Hebrew text are numbered one less; e.g., English 2 = Hebrew 1. In the translation on pp. 286, 287, 292, however, the Hebrew numbering is given.

probable correction $m^egh\bar{o}'\bar{a}l\bar{a}$, "stained" (cf. Is. 63.3), instead of $m^eghol\bar{a}l\bar{a}$, "rolled," cf. the very curious Septuagint rendering of one of the phrases in 14.19: ἱμάτιον ἐν αἵματι πεφυρμένον; while in the present passage it read the root $g\bar{a}mal$, "requite," for $g\bar{a}lal$, "roll." For w^e-$hay^eth\bar{a}$, "but this shall be," read simply $h\bar{a}y^eth\bar{a}$, "has been," a past as in the preceding and following strophes; a misunderstanding of the type of strophe has led to the insertion of w^e, "and" or "but." The reference to the end of bloodshed may be to domestic as well as foreign oppression.

This birth-ode might easily have been composed originally with reference to the birth of Solomon, or have been a poetic reconstruction of such a passage as I Chron. 22.9, whose phraseology it recalls: "But the word of the Lord came to me saying: Thou hast shed blood abundantly and hast made great wars; thou shalt not build an house unto my name, because thou hast shed much blood upon the earth in my sight. Behold, a son shall be born to thee, who shall be a man of rest; ... and I will give peace and quietness unto Israel in his days; he shall build an house for my name; he shall be my son and I will be his father; and I will establish the throne of his kingdom over Israel for ever."

6. "Unto us a son is given": this stichos, following "for unto us a child [*yeledh*, "boy"] is given," serves no other purpose than that of parallelism.

Wat-t^eh\bar{i} ham-misr\bar{a} 'al shikhm\bar{o}, "and the government has been [Eng. shall be] upon his shoulder." The absence of parallelism, the repetition of the strange word *ham-misr\bar{a}*, found only here and in verse 7, and the interruption of the natural order of ideas, i.e., the announcement of the birth and then the name, are sufficient indications of corruption. Probably the whole sentence is made up of a gloss on *ham-misr\bar{a}* in verse 7, and one on verse 4 (q.v.), *'\bar{o}l shikhm\bar{o}*, "the yoke of his shoulder," the whole being combined on the basis of 22.22: "and I shall place the key of the house of David upon his shoulder." It is absolutely beyond the limits of probability that the ἅπαξ

λεγόμενον *ham-misrā* is merely a synonym for the word "rule," for which the language possesses several instantly recognizable words. If the clause is kept, some other meaning must be sought for *ham-misrā,* denoting a concrete symbol of office, as in 22.22; and a parallel verse [cf. again 22.21, "and the rule will I give in his hand"], making the strange word clear, must be assumed to have been lost; but if the passage is simple prose, *ham-memshālā* should be substituted for *ham-misrā.*

'*El gibbōr,* "the mighty god": in the explanation of the name in verse 7 this appellation is left unnoticed; this is sufficient evidence that the startlingly unique application of the name "god" to the child was not intended; the Septuagint omits the word '*ēl* entirely. Parallelism with the term "wonder of a counsellor" requires that '*ēl gibbōr* be interpreted in accordance with '*ēlē gibbōrīm* in Ezek. 32.21; i.e., "mighty one of a hero," or even "strength of a hero"; '*ēl* is almost a synonym of χαyil in the latter case; and as *pele' yō'ēç* stands for *maphlī' 'ēçā* (cf. 28.29) so '*ēl gibbōr* would recall *gibbōr χayil.* Moreover, had the term "god" been intended, the order of terms would certainly have been "counsellor, father, prince, god," and not "counsellor, god, father, prince.

'*Abhī 'adh,* "the everlasting father": read either '*abhī dhē'ā,* "father of knowledge," or '*āba yōdhēa',* knowing father"; cf. the attributes of the king in 11.2: wisdom, understanding, counsel, strength, knowledge; cf. also the proper name *Abidah.* On the heaping up of parallelistic terms, cf. the note to 1.21.

Lᶜ-marbē ham-misrā, "for the increase of government": see above, on 6; read probably *mīshōr,* "equity"; cf. Is. 11.4: "he shall judge with righteousness, and reprove with equity"; coupled with "peace," as here, in Mal. 2.6.

Qin'ath, etc. ("the zeal of the Lord of Hosts will perform this"): a monostich, standing outside the oracle proper; cf. 1.20, 10.23.

8. With this verse begins a series of sections each ending with the refrain "For all this his anger is not turned away, and his hand is outstretched still" (verses 12, 17, 21, and chapter 10,

verse 4). The same refrain occurs also in 5.25, at the end of
a number of stichoi whose subject matter, moreover, would form
an admirable introduction to the series of passages in chapter 9;
there is then some justification for using the term "stanza" for
each of these sections, and for assuming a dislocation of the
one in chapter 5; indeed, quite possibly some of the stanzas in
chapter 9 also are transposed; the words "but [A. V. for] the
people turned [A. V. turneth] not unto him that smiteth them"
in 9.13 would follow most naturally after stanza 1 (5.25); and
the transposition of the stanza 9.13–17 would at the same time
leave in juxtaposition the two stanzas which have most in com-
mon, 9.8–12 and 18–21; for immediately before the refrain in
9.12 occurs what might be considered a three line strophe, with
characteristic variation in the third stichos:

> The Syrians before,
> And the Philistines behind;
> And they devoured [A. V. will devour] Israel with open mouth;

and similarly in 21:

> Manasseh, Ephraim;
> And Ephraim, Manasseh;
> And they together against Judah.

These two stichoi, notice, are also the only two which con-
tain proper names, and which can clearly be read as tristichs;
although 9.17 contains the three parallels "their young men,"
the "fatherless," and "widows," which might possibly indicate
an original tristich in this stanza also:

> The Lord shall not take joy in their young men,
> Nor shall he have mercy on the fatherless,
> Nor shall he pity their widows.

This tristich would again stand before the refrain if the natural
transposition of the following distich, "for every one is an
hypocrite," etc., to an earlier position in its stanza (see below)
be accepted. But the other stanzas show no trace of this tristich
variation; possibly the tristichs, then, are to be read as distichs;
on the other hand, the variation may be due to a difference in
time of the composition or in the authorship of the respective
stanzas.

CHAPTER 9

Some of the stanzas in chapter 9 contain in addition to the refrain five strophes, others six, all of which, excepting those mentioned above, are distichs and, with one or two defects, in normal parallelism. In each stanza there are contained references to the people's sin and to God's punishment therefor, though in one instance particularly the two themes are not kept distinct. Details are as follows:

Stanza 1. (5.24c–25) : 3 strophes, of which 1 in the "sin" section, introduced by *kī*, "*because*," and 2 in the punishment section, introduced by *'al kēn*, "therefore."

Stanza 2. (9.13–17) : 6 strophes, of which 3, at present not grouped together, refer to sin (1, 4, 6), the last introduced by *kī;* and 3 to punishment (2, 3, 5), of which the last is introduced by *'al kēn*.

Stanza 3. (9.8–12) : 5 strophes, of which the second ("and the people all of them shall know," etc.) is uncertain in its parallelism, but by a slight omission, becomes a normal distich ; of the five, 3 refer to sin, 2 to punishment (the last possibly a tristich ; see above).

Stanza 4. (9.18–21) : 6 strophes, the division between sin and punishment being doubtful. The first strophe refers to sin, and is introduced by *kī;* the second continues the simile of the first ; the third, though likewise containing a picture of the fire presented by the first two, begins with a prepositional phrase ("by the word of the Lord"), which would normally introduce a new thought ; this might, then, be considered the beginning of the "punishment" section, but in that case this section, as the stanza stands, contains 4 strophes, leaving only 2 for the sin section (see below).

Stanza 5. (10.1–4) : 6 strophes, 3 referring to sin, 3 to punishment.

There is some doubt whether the stanzas are to be interpreted as narrative, or as prophetic; the last (10.1–4) certainly refers to the future; the remainder seem to refer to the past; for while

Chapter 9

it is true that some of the verbs are imperfects, and would
normally, if in independent clauses, refer to the future, most of
them can be explained as circumstantial imperfects, deriving
their time limitation from the main verbs.   Possibly the refer-
ences to the attacks of the Philistines and Arameans (read
"Edomites"? Cf. 11.14, also II Chron. 28.17, 18) upon Israel, and
of Manasseh upon Ephraim and of both upon Judah are to
be considered as general and typical rather than definite and
particular: Philistines and Arameans typifying foreign foes;
Manasseh, Ephraim, and Judah intertribal combatants; other-
wise the conflict between Manasseh and Ephraim may be the
division between the sons of Joseph as reflected in Gen. 17.14,
while that between Manasseh and Ephraim together as against
Judah is the division between North and South mentioned spe-
cifically in 7.17 ("days such as have not come since Ephraim
separated from Judah"); and with this should be compared
the hope expressed for the future in 11.13, 14: "the envy of
Ephraim shall depart and the adversaries of Judah be cut off;
Ephraim shall not envy Judah and Judah shall not vex
Ephraim; but they shall fly upon the shoulder of the Philistines
on the West, and shall spoil them of the East, together they shall
lay their hand upon Edom (notice, not Aram!) and Moab," etc.

In the following suggestions it is assumed that there was
originally a series of stanzas with some measure of uniformity:

(5.24e–25.)   See 5.24d; probably two distichs have fallen out
before the one beginning "for they have rejected."   Possibly
the poem began with some phrase such as *hōi 'am sōrēr ū-mōrè:*
"Ah! nation rebellious and stubborn," etc. (cf. 1.4 for the
sequence of ideas); this would account for the inclusion in
chapter 5, a series of stanzas beginning with *"hoi"; see also
stanza 5 (10.1), below.

9.8. "The Lord sent a word into Jacob, and it hath lighted
[Heb. shall light] upon Israel" is a very illogical introduction
to what follows.   The Septuagint reads for "word," *dābhār,*
θάνατον, "death," which might be simply *debher,* "pest"; but
read probably *shebher,* "a crash," "destruction"; cf., e.g., Jer.

CHAPTER 9

4.6: "for I will bring evil from the North, and a great destruction," *shebher gādhōl;* also Amos 6.6: *shebher Yōsēph;* for the word in Isaiah, cf. 30.13; for the construction, 10.16, "the Lord shall send [*yᵉshallaχ*] leanness." Parallel to it read for *nāphal, nᵉphōl,* "a falling," or *mappālā,* "ruin," or *nefeç,* "shattering"; cf. 30.30.

9. *Wᵉ-yādhᵉʻ ū,* "and shall know," also, is illogical in view of what follows; moreover *lēmōr,* "saying" (Eng. "that say"), presupposes an antecedent verb implying use of the voice; read *way-yālōʻ ū* (cf. Job 6.3; Prov. 20.25), "they talked wildly," or *way-yālīçū* (cf. Is. 28.14), "scoffed," or *way-yilʻᵃghū,* "mocked." "Ephraim and the dweller in Samaria," is probably merely a gloss on "the people all of them," preceding; it is superfluous, since the previous verse indicates clearly who "the people" are; and "people" is used throughout the prophecy without any similar modifier. Its omission restores a normal distich here. However, if on the basis of Ps. 17.10, a phrase like *wa-yᵉdhabbēr pīw* be introduced before *bᵉ-gha'ᵃwā,* the following results:

> And the people all of them mocked,
> Ephraim and the dwellers in Samaria;
> Their mouths spoke proudly,
> In stoutness of heart they said.

But this, while it would make a six strophe stanza, would place four of the strophes instead of three in the "sin" section.

11. *Wa-yᵉsaggēbh:* Here the sin section begins without the conjunction *'al kēn,* "therefore" (though the English so translates): possibly a distich beginning thus, and containing the superfluous line from above, as well as the name "Rezin" found at present misplaced in verse 10, really has fallen out; this would again make six instead of five strophes. Notice that the word *wa-yᵉsaggēbh,* literally "made high (the adversaries," etc.), offers just the appropriate hint of poetic justice to be expected; Israel sought to set high what God threw down; therefore God set on high those who will humble Israel. *Yᵉsakhsēkh* ("urge on": Eng. "join together") is either a circumstantial imperfect or should be read as a perfect *sikhsēkh,* as parallelism with "he exalted" demands.

CHAPTER 9

13. See above on the transposition of this whole stanza; moreover, the strophes within this stanza should also probably be transposed (notice that the Massoretic text makes a break between 13 and 14), with the following order: verses 13, 16, 17cd (*kī kullō χānēph*, "for all of them, etc."), 14, 17ef; probably also *'al kēn*, "therefore," from verse 17 to the beginning of verse 14, since in its present place it forces the imperfects in verse 17 to be understood as futures ("shall have no joy," etc.), while without *'al kēn* they may be circumstantials (cf. the imperfects in verses 19 and 20, depending upon the perfect in verse 14). The resultant logical order of ideas is then: The people turned not to God, but their leaders were false and the people were misled—all of them were iniquitous; therefore God cut off leaders and followers, pitying neither young nor old, orphan nor widow.

15. "The ancient and honorable," etc.: this was possibly a gloss on the preceding, though it is also possible that in the form "the ancient and honourable, the prophet and teacher of lies" is represents in whole or part an original couplet; the decision will depend upon the conclusion as to the number of strophes originally in the typical stanza. If a gloss, written in the margin, it might account for the displacement of the verse it glosses.

16. "For the leaders of this people": a comparison with verses 9, 13, 19, where "the people," not "this people," is used, gives evidence again of the editorial hand; but read (if the transposition suggested above is acceptable) simply *me'ashsherāw*, "their leaders."

17. On "therefore" see the note on verse 14. Supply possibly a separate verb *lō' yāχōn* for the object "his orphans," making this strophe a tristich (see above, 8).

18. Possibly this stanza contains verses which, while Isaianic, were not originally a part of this prophecy, but were edited into it to replace a portion that was missing. The use of the abstract noun *rish'ā*, "wickedness," is itself strange in Isaiah; if correct, the sequel shows that it must here be a synonym of *qin'ā*, "envy," "hatred." But while one expects in the next lines details concerning the nature of the sin, as a matter of fact there

CHAPTER 9

is no point in the description of sin ''consuming thistles and thorns.'' This metaphor is intelligible and usual in reference to God's wrath; cf. 10.16, 17, of which this passage is almost a duplicate; and it is sin itself which is consumed by the fire. *Rish‘ȧ,* then, possibly either is a misreading, or is editorial, due tö the necessity of giving the passage a semblance of appropriateness, and was changed from some original word modifying ''fire'' (so its position indicates), e.g., *bŏ‘ᵃrā,* ''a consuming fire''; while the real subject was *'ebhrā,* in verse 19; this supports the probability that verse 19 belongs before verse 18, as is indicated also by the fact that verse 19 by its wording seems to be the beginning of a new thought.

Way-yith'abbᵉkhū, ''and they mounted up,'' not found elsewhere in Hebrew or other Semitic languages, is possibly due to the preceding *sibhᵉkhē;* the Septuagint read the two roots *'ākhal* and *sābhabh. Gē'ūth* (''lifting up''; usually ''majesty,'' ''pride'') is also very suspicious; the Septuagint read *gᵉbhā‘oth,* ''hills''; read perhaps ''the valleys [*gᵉ'āyŏth*] are surrounded,'' or ''roll up'' (*yithsōbhᵉbhū*), or ''are clouded'' (*yith'abbᵉqū,* lit. ''dusted''; cf. Na. 1.3), '' (with) smoke''; cf. I Kings 18.45: ''and the heavens are blackened (with) clouds.''

19. *Ne‘tam,* ''darkened'': this ἅπαξ λεγόμενον, doubly suspicious because masculine whereas feminine is expected, is perhaps to be compared with *'ᵃyam* in 11.15; it is the meaning attaching to the latter root in Arabic that would justify in the present passage an unusual word for ''burned,'' ''scorched''; since *ghaim* in Arabic denotes ''internal heat,'' ''rage,'' the thought might be here: ''by the wrath of the Lord the world is enkindled into blazing hatred'' (cf. 7.4: ''that smoke by the wrath of Resin''); this would be the *qin'ath 'Ephrayim,* ''jealous anger [Eng. envy] of Ephraim,'' of 11.13. Read, perhaps, then, for *ne‘tam, nā‘omath* (i.e., *nā‘ōmā*) *'ārec. Ma'khŏleth 'ēsh,* ''fuel of the fire,'' occurring again in verse 5, is in good parallelism as far as the distich is concerned, but difficult in view of what follows. If the stanza as a whole is to be regarded as original, read perhaps *kᵉ-'ēsh 'ōkheleth,* ''as a consuming fire''; or *kᵉ-ma'ᵃkhŏleth 'āph,* ''as the fuel of wrath,'' ''consumed with

CHAPTER 9

wrath,'' which would permit the transition to the idea of mutual destruction.

Ish 'el 'aχīw lō yaχmōlū: possibly the distich, verses 19c and 20c, "no man shall spare his brother, they shall eat every man the flesh of his neighbor" (read so with BDB; the Massoretic text has "of his own arm," *īsh* b^e*sar* z^e*rō'ō yōkhēlū*) is a gloss or variant, placed here to effect some semblance of transition from the picture of fire in verse 19 to that of the ravenous beast, bird, or perhaps sword, in verse 20. That the couplet was written in the margin is evidenced by the fact that the two stichoi are at present unnaturally separated; the repetition of the verb "ate" (20b and c) also is suspicious; notice too the plural verbs (*yaχmōlū* and *yōkhēlū*) in the Hebrew; if the couplet is original, the imperfects are circumstantial, and the singular should be read; the metaphor "eating flesh" is used to denote bitter enmity in Ps. 27.2; Job 19.22; hence it is a close parallel to "spare not."

20. *Way-yighzōr,* "and he shall snatch"; Heb. "and he cut" (but read possibly *way-yighzōl*) : if the figure intended is not that of the beast or bird of prey (cf. 11.14: "and they shall fly upon the shoulders of the Philistines"), but merely that of extreme human anger, it may have a literal basis; notice, e.g., II Sam. 12.31: "and brought forth the people and put them under axes" (lit. cutting instruments, *maghzērōth*). For 20c, see preceding note.

21. "Together they against Judah": the parallel passage 9.12, as well as the change of construction (accusative to preposition) suggests the loss of a verb; the Septuagint πολιορκήσουσι represents χāmū, "encamped against," for *hēmmā,* "they," but it might also be *çārū,* "besieged," with which cf. again 11.13: "Judah shall not vex [*yāçōr*] Ephraim."

Possibly all that is in place in this stanza, besides the refrain, is the following:

> And they tore on the right, still hungry,
> And they ate on the left, unsated,
>   Manasseh, Ephraim,
>   And Ephraim, Manasseh,
> And together [they pounced] upon Judah.

CHAPTER 10

1. The preceding stanzas were directed against "the people";
this one against a particular class that oppresses the people, who
hence are called commiseratingly in verse 2 "my people" (cf.
the tone of 3.15); this passage has a closer affinity with chapter
5 than with chapter 9. Note in verse 2 the pity expressed for
widows and orphans, who in 9.16 [17] are *not* to be pitied. It
is perhaps the very words "orphans and widows" which led to .
the juxtaposition of these stanzas; while *sheᵉlālām*, "their booty"
and *yabhōzzū*, "that they may rob," together with *hōi*, "woe!"
"ah!" account for the juxtaposition of the following section,
10.5ff., beginning "Ah Assyria" and containing in verse 6 *shālāl*
and *lā-bhōz baz*. The refrain "still is his hand outstretched"
is not a natural conclusion for the section 10.1–4.

3. *'Al mī tānūsū leᵉ-'ezrā, 'ānā thaᶜazᵉbhū kᵉbhōdhᵉkhem*, "to
whom [Heb. upon whom] will ye flee for help, where [Heb.
whither] will ye leave your glory": transpose the two inter-
rogatives; cf. the construction in 20.6, where "whither ye shall
flee for help" occurs even after a noun antecedent; while *'āzabh*
takes properly the preposition *'al* in the meaning "entrust to";
cf. Ps. 10.14. *Kᵉbhōdhᵉkhem* is "the glory of your wealth,"
i.e., the spoil and booty mentioned in verse 2; there is also a
reference to the root-meaning "heavy"—hence the next couplet:

4. *Biltī khāraᶜ taχath 'assīr, weᵉ-thaχath hᵃrūghīm yippōlū*,
"without me [Heb. without] they shall bow down [Heb. he
bowed down] under the prisoners, and they shall fall under the
slain": read *leᵉ-bhiltī kherōaᶜ*, "so as not to bow." *Taχath* is here
"among," or must be corrected to *beᵉ-thōkh* (cf. Ezek. 32.20),
taχath being then a slip of the copyist who had expected the
phrase "bow down under the weight of the burden" (see verse
3), or "under the feet of the enemy" (cf. II Sam. 22.40). The
Septuagint reads correctly "ye shall fall" instead of "they shall
fall," another careless copyist's mistake. The imperfect, as fre-
quently, continues the infinitive construction.

5. *U-maṭṭè hū' bheᵉyādhām zaᶜmī:* literally "and a staff he in
their hand my anger"; for this copyist's awkward jumble of

CHAPTER 10

words parallelism suggests simply *ū-mattè za'mī,* "and staff of
my anger"; other simple emendations yield: "a staff is he
in the day" (*bᵉ-yōm* for *bᵉ-yādhām*) or, "against the people"
(*bᵉ-'am;* but see the next verse), "of my wrath," or "a staff is
he in the hand of my wrath"; less likely is *ū-maṭṭēhū yārīm
bᵉ-za'mī,* "who raises his staff by my anger," although in verse
24 (*ū-maṭṭēhū yissā' 'ālēkhā*) it is Assyria that raises the staff.

6. "I will send him against a hypocritical nation": the im-
perfect here is rather: "I was sending him," "I would send
him," i.e., "I thought to send him."

"To tread him down like the mire of the streets": if this line
is in place it makes with 6cd a tristich of the type described in
1.2; the Septuagint "to trample cities and to make them into
dust" yields another normal distich. But the figure of speech
here indicates destruction, and weakens the apparent intention
of the author, and the contrast with what follows; it is just de-
struction that the Assyrian was *not* sent to effect; he was merely
to take spoil (there is an evident reference here to 8.3, 4). The
line was probably misplaced and edited here; it may belong at
the end of verse 7, or better still, at the end of verse 13 (q.v.).

8. "For he saith, are not my princes altogether kings?"
This is vague, and is not a logical introduction to what follows;
"altogether" in the sense of "all" is not correct in this phrase;
and the Septuagint shows a disordered text. Read for *sārai,*
"my princes," either *'assīr,* "captives," *'assīrai,* "my captives,"
or *'ussᵉrū,* "captured," "bound," i.e., with repetition of the
'āleph from *hᵃlō',* and confusion of the sibilants; cf. Is. 22.3:
'ussᵉrū yaχdāw: "all thy rulers are fled together, they are bound
by the archers; all that are found in thee are bound together."

10. "As my hand hath found the kingdoms of the idols [Heb.
idol] and whose graven images (did excel them) of Jerusalem
and of Samaria" (text simply: "and their images from Jerusa-
lem and Samaria"). The text is evidently in disorder; read for
hā-'elīl, "the idol," *hā-ēllè,* "these" (cf. 36.20); insert before
"from Jerusalem" a predicate: "so it shall not fall short of,"
lō' tiqçar (cf. Is. 50.2: "is my hand shortened that it cannot

CHAPTER 10

redeem''; also 37.27, and particularly 59.1); or *lō' thirpè*, ''it shall not be too feeble for'' (II Sam. 4.1). And for ''from Samaria,'' which has come from the next verse, read ''and from her images'' (*ūmim-massᵉkhōthēhā;* cf. 30.22, 48.5) or *ūmiç-çalᵉmēhā.*

11. ''Shall I not'': *hᵃ-lō'* is as usual emphatic, ''surely I shall,'' and here climactic: ''as I did to all these kingdoms, I shall not be unable to do to Jerusalem—yea, as I was able to do even to Samaria, so also shall I do to Jerusalem.''

12. Insert a phrase parallel to ''his whole work,'' e.g., *po'lō* as in 5.12, so as to throw the two exact synonyms ''Mount Zion'' and ''Jerusalem'' into parallelism; cf. the form of the next verse. ''Fruit [*pᵉrī*] of the stout heart'' might mean thoughts, as ''fruit of the lips'' is words; but *pᵉrī* is here parallel to *tiph'èreth,* ''glory''; the Septuagint omits, so that the word was possibly indistinct: *çᵉbhī* would be a fitting parallel (see 13.19); if the text is correct the parallelism is mere root-paronomasia, *pā'ar* and *pārā.*

13. ''And by my wisdom for I am prudent,'' *kī nᵉbhūnōthi:* the Septuagint, ''in the wisdom of my understanding'' shows a text without *kī;* read perhaps ''in my wisdom and understanding''; or more probably *kī* represents part of a variant reading of the root *nᵉbhūnōthī;* parallelism with *'āsīthī,* ''I have done it,'' suggests *hᵃkhīnōthī,* ''I have accomplished''; this same parallelism occurs in Jer. 33.2.

''And I have [read *wā* for Heb. *wᵉ*] put down like a valiant man [*kabbīr* or *ka'abbīr*] the inhabitants'': the Septuagint ''I will shake the inhabited cities'' shows perhaps that the text was not certain. Read for *kabbīr, kᵉbhōdh:* ''the glory of their inhabitants,'' i.e., the nobles; on the phrase ''bring down the strength'' or ''the glory,'' and ''come down from glory,'' cf. Amos 3.11 (parallel to ''spoil the palaces''; cf. the present context; Jer. 48.18: *rᵉdhī mik-kābhōdh yōshᵉbhī bhaç-çāmē'*). For *yōshᵉbhīm* read *yōshᵉbhēhem;* cf. 37.27. This whole prophecy is in distichs; perhaps, then, the Septuagint reading is not a variant of this verse, but represents another stichos; its refer-

CHAPTER 10

ence to ''cities'' is peculiar, for it reads ''cities'' also in the
superfluous stichos now found in verse 6 (''to tread down like
the mire of the streets''), which, in the form *wa-'ᵃsīmēm mirmās,*
etc., ''and I trod them down like the mire of the streets'' would
be in place here; for the sequence of ideas cf. Is. 63.6: ''I will
tread down the people in mine anger, . . . and I will bring down
their strength to the earth.''

14. ''Eggs that are left,'' *bēçīm 'ᵃzūbhōth:* read probably for
'ᵃzūbhōth, 'ᵉzūz, ''the strength of the world,'' or *'izzūzē,* ''the
strong,'' parallel to χēl (''strength,'' i.e., ''riches of the
nations'': cf. this parallelism in 43.17), or some other collective,
plural, or abstract object of ''gather.''

15. ''Or as if the staff should lift up (itself as if it were) no
wood'': the A. V. has apparently felt that the language used
here has unusual implications; the Septuagint also has a dif-
ficulty either in reading or in understanding the text. As a
matter of fact the normal implication of the statement ''a staff
cannot raise up not-wood'' would be that a staff is an instru-
ment for raising up that which *is* wood. But the intended impli-
cation in this passage is determined not so much by the words
themselves as by the parallelism. ''Him that heweth,'' ''him
that shaketh,'' ''him that lifteth'' are all metaphors here for
''God''; hence ''not-wood'' here has the implied meaning ''God''
(cf. Is. 31.8, where ''not-man'' is again ''God''), who is speci-
fically described as ''not-wood,'' in contrast not only to a staff,
but also, by implication, to the Assyrian's idols; in Is. 37.19, a
passage which undoubtedly is based on the present one, this
thought is explicitly developed, and the contrast made directly
between the Assyrian gods and Yahwè; ''for they were not-
gods, but the work of men's hands, wood and stones.'' The
present passage offers another example of Isaiah's fondness for
leading the mind by parallelism to expect a certain phrase and
then substituting the unexpected, which the implications of par-
allelism then make clear; this is especially effective in a climax.

16. The section 16–23 is misplaced; reference is never made
to forests in Assyria, even in a metaphor; this passage refers to

the destruction of Israel or Judah (cf. 37.24); it belongs prob-
ably with chapters 7 and 8; certainly the emphasis on *she'ār* in
verses 19, 20, 21, 22 would give point to the mention of Shear-
jashub in 7.3. The rest of this chapter, too, is in considerable
disorder.

"Therefore shall the Lord, the Lord of Hosts, send among
his fat ones leanness, and under his glory he shall kindle a burn-
ing like the burning of a fire": for "fat ones" read "fatness,"
mishmannō, the proper parallel to *kābhōd*, "glory," literally,
"heaviness"; cf. 17.4b, "the fatness of his flesh shall wax lean."
The latter part of the verse, *yēqadh yeqōdh kīqōdh 'ēsh*, "shall
be kindled a kindling like the kindling of fire" contains a simile
without any real term of comparison; the phrase is probably
misplaced; the Septuagint has the phrase "burning flame" still
a third time: after verse 18 (q.v.), and was evidently in doubt
as to where the variant really belonged (see below). Parallelism
demands after *taχath kebhōdhō* ("under," but also "instead
of," "his glory") the word *qālōn*, "shame"; literally, "instead
of his heaviness, lightness"; for *qālōn* opposed to *kābhōdh* see
22.18; also *niqlè* and *nikhbādh* in 3.5; and cf. 17.4: "on that
day the glory of Jacob shall be made thin" (*yiddal*, but read
perhaps *yēqal*). Transpose here also 18bc (see *ad loc.*):

> *Lākhēn yeshallaχ hā-'ādhōn be-mishmannō rāzōn*
> *we-thaχath kebhōdhō qālōn*
> *we-hāyā ki-mesōs nōses*
> *min-nefesh we-'adh bāsār yekhallè* (or *yikhlè*).

17, 18. In the phrase *kiqōdh 'ēsh* (see above) there is per-
haps a play on *qedhōshō* in this verse, which probably the gloss
indicated should be read:

> *we-hāyā 'ōr Yisrā'ēl le-lehābhā*
> *ū-qedhōshō yēqadh kiqōdh 'ēsh:*

"And the Light of Israel shall be for a flame, and his Holy One
burn as when a fire is kindled." Further confusion in the text
is seen in the collocation of *ū-bhā'arā we-ākhelā*, instead of their
distribution in parallel positions. Probably, too, for *kebhōdh
ya'rō*, "glory of his forest," read *ēç ya'rō*, "the trees of his
forest": *kebhōdh* is due to dittography from verse 16; the cor-

reet reading *'ēç ya'rō* stands now in verse 19, into which it was written from the margin; read:

> *ū-bhā'ᵃrā ēç ya'rō wᵉ-kharmillō*
> *wᵉ-ākhᵉlā shīthō u-shᵉmīrō bᵉ-yōm 'eχādh:*

"and it shall burn the trees of his forests and garden-land, and devour his thorns and thistles in a single day."

Min-nefesh wᵉ-'adh bāsār yᵉkhallè, literally, "from soul unto body it shall consume," certainly belongs in the figure of the consumptive man, and not in that of a burning forest (see above, to verse 16); for the phrase ef. Job 33.21; Prov. 5.11; Ps. 73.26; read for *yᵉkhallè*, *yikhlè*: "he shall waste away"; note that as the text stands the subject of *yᵉkhallè*, "consume," is "it," i.e., the "flame" of verse 17, which is a feminine noun, while *yᵉkhallè* is masculine.

Wᵉ-hāyā ki-mᵉsōs nōses ("and they shall be as when a standard bearer fainteth"; Septuagint, "and he that flees shall be as one fleeing from burning flame"; for the last phrase, see on verse 16, above): for *mᵉsōs* in the literal sense "wasting away of the body," ef. *temes* in Ps. 58.9 ("as a snail which melteth"); *nāmēs* in I Sam. 15.9 (if the text is correct, "consumptive" for the A. V. "refuse"); *masmāsā* in the Talmud (the "rotting away" of any organ of the body). If *nōsēs* is correct, it must mean something more forcible than merely "a sick man" (see BDB), which would be *χōlè* or *naχᵃlè;* perhaps "a dying man" (in Arabic *nasīsa* is "the last breath of life").

19. For the transposition of *'ēç ya'rō*, "trees of his forest," see verse 18; this leaves here *ū-shᵉ'ār mispār yihyū;* which, with repetition of the *m* from *mispār* (i.e., *ū-shᵉ'ārām*) is exactly the reading of the Septuagint: "and the remainder of them shall be a number" (i.e., "numerable"). There follows here naturally verse 22 (q.v.).

20. The peculiar form of suspensive parallelism used here is very similar to that found in 7.18 (q.v.). But *be-'ᵉmeth* at the end of the fourth line is shown both by parallelism and linguistic usage to be superfluous. *Hishshā'ēn*, 'lean upon," "recline upon," is used invariably with a consciousness of its literal

CHAPTER 10

meaning, and does not take an abstract complement, as may its
(abstract) parallel *bāṭaχ*, "trust"; the natural ending for this
stichos would be simply *Yahwè qᵉdhōshō* (cf. 10.16), contrasting
with *mākkēhū*. Curiously, the parallel to *'emeth*, *çᵉdhāqā* (cf.
Is. 48.1), is found similarly misplaced at the end of verse 22
(q.v.); possibly both are marginal, and belong to a missing verse
—further evidence of confusion in this section.   Verse 20, it
should be noticed, refers to a time after the destruction by
Assyria shall have been effected; the emphasis in its reference
to the remnant is upon Israel's salvation (i.e., *"still* a rem-
nant"); and since Israel's "Holy One" stands in contrast with
Israel's "smiter," the emphasis is upon God as Israel's savior.

21. This verse seems to have several mutually contradictory
implications.   Its brevity would seem to stamp it as a single
stichos; in thought it is a parallel to the last stichos of verse 20;
the absence of connecting conjunction would show it to be the
beginning of a new thought, to be connected with what follows
(verse 22), whose implication, however, it contradicts, for there
the emphasis is upon the prophecy of a remnant as a threat of
punishment (*"only* a remnant"), as in verse 19.   But in addition
to this confusion in emphasis a greater suspicion attaches to
verse 21 in its present form because of the phrase *'ēl gibbōr*,
"Mighty God."   *El* is used as a proper name of God in the
earlier parts of Isaiah only in the psalm-chapter 12 (in 5.16 it
has the article; in 14.13 it means simply "heaven"; in 8.8 and
10 it is due to the personal name Immanu-el); and *gibbōr*, while
it occurs elsewhere of God, is used always as a descriptive adjec-
tive in a series of others or in parallelism, never as here making
a compound proper name of God; whereas it does occur in the
near-by passage 9.5 as the symbolic name of the (Messianic?)
prince.   Notice too that *shᵉ'ār yāshūbh* is the symbolic name of
one of Isaiah's sons, that it occurs again in the next verse, and
that the remaining phrase in this sentence, *shᵉ'ār yā'ᵃqōbh* is
omitted by the Septuagint (possibly it was a variant of *pᵉlēṭath
beth Ya'ᵃqobh* in verse 20).   The conclusion drawn from the
style and parallelism is that this verse is made up of marginal

CHAPTER 10

annotations; it is barely possible that in some other form it was part of the supposed missing distich to which *'emeth* and *çedhāqā* also belong (see verse 20).

22. For the transposition of 22, 23, see on verse 19; for *sheār yāshūbh* see 6.13, and above, verse 16. That "righteousness" at the end of 22 is misplaced is shown by verse 23: "for the Lord God of Hosts shall make a consumption [*kālā*] even determined [*we-neχerāçā*], in the midst of all the earth," which is evidently merely a fuller prose repetition of the preceding "the consumption [*killāyōn*] decreed [*χārūç*] shall overflow" but which leaves the disturbing term "with righteousness" unexplained. At the same time, some word has evidently fallen out parallel to *killāyōn* and as the subject of *shōṭēph* (which is really a parallel to *χārūç*); fortunately verse 26, below, and 28.15–18 supply it; read probably:

> killāyōn χārūç
> shōṭ shōṭēph.

Shōṭ is literally "a whip"; but in 28.15, where the figurative use of the term is elaborated it would seem to mean "scourging flood," since *shōṭēph*, used with it, is frequent in Isaiah in the figure of the overflowing flood of God's punishment; *'ābhar*, used with *shāṭaph* in 8.8, is used of *shōṭ* in 28.15; and in 28.19 "treading," *mirmās*, and "taking," *yiqqaχ*, show further that *shoṭ* has not its original meaning "whip." It is hardly probable that mere paronomasia led to Isaiah's choice of the word; possibly there is a reference to some other meaning of the root (curiously Muhammad also uses the figure "pour out [*sabb*] a *sauṭ* of punishment"; *sauṭ* is also a pool of water left by a torrent). At any rate, in 28.18 the rulers are rebuked for scorning the Prophet's admonition, and the words *shōṭ shōṭēph* are put mockingly in their mouths apparently as a quotation of his own previously spoken words: as though they said "your *shōṭ shōṭēph* when it comes will not touch us"; whereupon the Prophet (28.17) repeats the phrase in answer, elaborates it in detail, and then at the end of that prophecy (28.22) repeats also the identical words he had used at the end of the previous prophecy (10.23; with this concluding prose line, cf. 9.6).

24. The following verses (through 26) naturally follow immediately upon verse 16. Verse 24 is apparently a long prose sentence; only "my people" is in parallelism possibly with "the inhabitant of Zion." There is evidence of disorder, however; the phrase at the end of 24, "after the manner of Egypt," is out of place; it is a repetition from the end of 26, where it occurs also, and properly. Before it (in verse 24) the Septuagint inserts τοῦ ἰδεῖν, i.e., *līrōth*, possibly a mere repetition of the consonants in *'al tīrā'*, "fear not," or possibly, together with "the way of Egypt," a marginal reading; if the original text read *'al tēχath* (Josh. 8.1) or *'al tiphχadh*, with *'al tīrā'* in the margin intended as a proper insertion, the Massoretic text may have substituted it instead of, properly, adding it:

> 'al tīrā' 'ammī ·
> weʻ-'al tēχath yōshēbh Çiyyōn
> me-'Ashshūr bash-shebhet yakkekkā
> ū-mattēhū yissā' 'ālēkhā.

On the stanza construction cf. 7.4: "fear not, neither be faint-hearted, from these two," etc. Here *bash-shebhet yakkekkā* is probably a relative clause (cf. the note to 1.21).

25. Read *zaʻmī*, "my indignation," for *zaʻam*; and for *'al tabhlīthām*, "upon their destruction," *'al tebhel yittōm:* "(and my anger) against the world [cf. 13.11] will be finished" (cf. the parallelism in 16.4); or *'ālēkhā (kullō) yittōm:* "against thee will all be finished."

26. For *shōt*, "scourge," read *shibhtō*, "his staff," parallel to *mattēhū*, "his rod"; the exact repetition of the terms *shebhet* and *mattē* from verse 24 is stylistically satisfactory and emphatic, but the repetition of one and variation of the other obscures the emphasis: "Fear not from Assyria, who smites thee with rod and staff; for soon the rod and staff will be turned against him." The Septuagint omits *shōt* here; probably, then, it stood in the margin, and was intended for an insertion in verse 22 (q.v.), where it is in place.

The second half of this verse is literally: "and his staff upon the sea and he will raise it in the manner of Egypt"; Septuagint: "and his wrath by the way of the sea, to the

way toward Egypt.'' The confusion is self-evident; parallel-
ism suggests simply: *u-maṭṭēhū ʻālāw yinnāsēʼ* (or *yissāʼ*) *bᵉ-
dherekh miçrāyim,* ''and his staff against him shall be raised
(or shall he raise) in the manner of Egypt''; *ʻal hay-yōm* may
be from *ʻᵃlēhem,* ''upon them,'' an error for *ʻālāw,* ''upon him'';
but if the phrase ''at the Rock of Orebh'' in the preceding
stichos is correct, then ''at the sea,'' balancing it, belongs at the
end of this second stichos.

27c. *Wᵉ-χubbal ʻōl mip-pᵉnē shāmen* (''and the yoke shall be
destroyed because of the anointing [lit. the oil]''): *wᵉ-χubbal*
means ''be corrupted,'' ''waste away'' (cf. Job 17.1, where it is
parallel to ''be extinguished''; Micah 2.10, to ''be sick''), and
is inappropriate with ''yoke,'' *ʻōl;* the repetition of *ʻōl* from
the preceding stichos is intolerable; ''because of the anointing''
is absurd; and the whole clause is probably made up of mar-
ginal variants to the preceding couplet, or, in part belongs with
the next section, which has no connection with verse 27 and
itself is probably defective in its beginning; evidently the orig-
inal document was in bad condition here. *Xubbal,* vocalized
χebhel, ''rope,'' might be a variant of *ʻōl* in stichos b, or of
sōbhel, ''burden,'' in a; *shāmen,* ''oil,'' a corruption of
shikhmekhā, ''thy shoulder,'' which, indeed, the Septuagint
reads, while it offers further evidence of corruption in reading
in stichos b ''fear from thee'' instead of ''his yoke from thy
neck.'' The omission of this corrupt stichos leaves a couplet
similar to 14.25, ''his yoke shall depart from off them, and his
burden depart from off their shoulders.''

28–31. This picture of the approach of the Assyrian belongs
in spirit with 5.26–20; and the reconstruction of an introductory
stichos, together with the division of verse 30a into two stichoi
(as suggested below), would yield 18 stichoi, the same number
as in 5.26–30. The general parallelism is evident; down to verse
31 each stichos contains a proper name and a verb; a third term,
object of the verb, is found possibly in three stichoi. In sub-
ject matter the first five stichoi give the route traveled by the
Assyrian to his night encampment; the following seven (begin-

Chapter 10

ning "Ramah is afraid") picture the alarm of places either along, or near, the route of march on the coming day; the climax (in verse 32) is not clear in form or purpose. There is a strong presumption that originally the couplet formation, which at present is indicated by a closer affinity between some of the verbs used, was consistent throughout; the text is not without internal evidence of corruptions.

Another factor to be taken into account is assonance; within the following stichoi there is a repetition of at least one letter in each case: *'ābhar b^e-mighrōn; 'abh^{e}rū ma'bhārā; mālōn lānū; χar^{e}dhā hā-rāmā; çah^{e}lī qōlēkh bath-gallīm; haqshībhī layishā; 'aniyyā 'anāthōth; nādh^{e}dhā madhmēnā; b^{e}nōbh . . . y^{e}nōphēph.* Possibly the selection of the place names for mention was governed in part by this principle.

28. *bā' 'āl 'Ayyath,* "he is come to Aiath," means rather "he has gone against Aiath"; assonance is missing: this first stichos is possibly, then, defective; perhaps *'al,* "against," represents another verb, *'ālā,* while *bā'* belongs in a missing preceding stichos.

'Abhar b^e-mighrōn, "he is passed to Migron": *'ābhar* here and immediately afterwards in verse 29 is crude; possibly originally another verb, with a more exact alliteration, stood here.

L^e-mikhmas yaphqīdh kēlāw, literally "to Michmas he will entrust his baggage": the preposition should be *b^e* ("in"; the verb, then, "store up"); the imperfect verb, while all others down to verse 32 are perfects, is unjustified; alliteration is absent; the line is long; it does not stand in clear parallelism; and the question may be asked, why the author makes the army spend the night just one hour's march beyond its impedimenta, instead of in the same place with them—especially since the gain of one hour in the next day's start could not be of much importance; for the entire distance from Michmas to Jerusalem is only three or four hours' march. Possibly the answer is that there is a play on the name Michmas, if the root *kāmas,* actually (cf. Deut. 32.34), or by approximation to *kānas,* denotes "gather," "store up." From the standpoint of parallelism, this stichos in

CHAPTER 10

form and thought might be joined with "they have taken up their lodgings in Geba"; but another stichos intervenes.

29. "They are gone over the passage"; the omission of the proper name of the Pass is striking; perhaps the next word, Geba, is to be joined to this stichos; the pass between Michmas and Geba might as well be called Geba Pass as Michmas Pass (I Sam. 13.23).

Gebhaʻ mālōn lānū is literally either "Geba (is) a lodging for us" or "Geba (is) a lodging (which; cognate acc.) they have lodged"; either is suspicious. If Geba, as suggested, belongs with "Pass," *mālōn* represents a corrupt proper name; e.g. (with dittography from *Gebhaʻ*), *bᵉ-ʻālmōn lānū* (cf. Josh. 21.18); the Septuagint substitutes here a repetition of the first stichos of verse 28.

30. *Çahᵃlī qōlēkh* is literally "neigh thy voice"; doubly curious because the absolutely superfluous *qōlēkh* makes the line too long, and because *çahᵃlī* is elsewhere used only of joy, praise, desire, not fear. The Septuagint omits both words. Since, moreover, there is an odd number of stichoi in this section, it is probable that, together with *nᵉsī'*, "raise," the proper verb to govern *qōlēkh*, some place name has fallen out after *çahᵃlī*, perhaps Azmaweth (north of Anathoth), not mentioned until later times, it is true; but Gebim (verse 31) also is an otherwise unknown place. Corresponding to a couplet containing these two verbs "shriek," "raise thy voice," is the couplet formed by the remainder of this verse: "Listen, Laisha; answer [read *ʻanī* for *ʻanīyyā*] Anatoth."

31. Possibly the couplet "Madmenah is removed [i.e., fled], the inhabitants of Gebim have sought safety [A. V. gather themselves together to flee]" belongs at the end of 29; *gēbhīm* means pits or cisterns; and there may be a play on the thought of the pit as a place of hiding (cf. I Sam. 13.6, where the Philistines are described as hiding in pits when Saul advanced to Michmas).

32. "As yet shall (he) remain at Nob that day," *ʻōdh hayyōm bᵉ-nōbh la-ʻᵃmōdh:* *ōdh* is perhaps an error; the periphrastic infinitive *la-ʻᵃmōdh,* if correct, denotes either necessity,

CHAPTER 10

"he must stay," or imminence, "is about to stay"; only the
latter is logical here; and *'ōdh,* denoting continuance, is then
confusing: if correct, it must have the unusual meaning "still
to-day," i.e., even today (*be-'eçem hay-yōm haz-zè;* or *we-'odh
hay-yōm gādhōl*); but it may be only dittography from the
preceding word, which the Septuagint repeats instead of it;
hay-yōm, "today," is sufficient. It should be noted, however,
that the sentence contains no subject, which is all the more
remarkable in that the implied subject is not that of the imme-
diately preceding stichoi, but one last referred to in 29b; *'ōdh*
stands just where a subject might be expected. *La-'ᵃmōdh,* if
correct, is not here "tarry," but simply "take his stand"; *Nōbh*
was evidently a hill overlooking Jerusalem (possibly because of
yᵉnōpheph, nōbh suggests *nōph,* "height"; cf. Ps. 48.3), on
which he "is to take his stand" to give his signal to his armies
for the attack. *Yᵉnōphēph* (read possibly *wᵉ-nōphēph*) occurs
only here, and replaces the usual form *yānīph* (cf. 11.15, 13.2,
19.16, etc.) simply for the sake of the assonance.

"The mountain of the daughter of Zion, the hill of Jeru-
salem": as accusatives of place after the verb "wave" the
construction is remarkable; the verb is followed always by a
preposition, or else is used absolutely (cf. 13.2); *har bath Çīyōn*
and *gibh'ath Yᵉrūshālayim* are evidently parallels: possibly,
then, they are mere vocatives.

33–34 constitute a stanza, at present of five stichoi, all par-
allel, but with a closer affinity between the first ("the Lord shall
lop the bough with terror") and fourth ("and he shall cut down
the thickets of the forests with iron"); between the second ("and
the high ones of stature shall be hewn down") and third ("and
the haughty shall be humbled"); and perhaps between these
and the fifth ("and Lebanon shall fall by a mighty one"); pos-
sibly then a sixth stichos should be supplied to balance the fifth:
e.g., *wᵉhab-bᵉrōsh han-nisā' yikkārēth:* "and the lofty fir shall
be cut down" (cf. 14.8, 37.24). This parallelism points also
to the emendation of *bᵉ-ma'ᵃrāçā,* "with terror," which is very
inapt, to *bᵉ-ma'ᵃçādh* or *ma'ᵃçādhā,* a synonym of *bᵉ-barzel*

Chapter 10

("with iron," i.e., "axe"); cf. Jer. 10.3, "one cutteth a tree out of the forest ... with the axe (*bam-ma'ªçādh;* Is. 44.12: *barzel ma'ªçādh*); in Arabic the equivalent *mi'dad* is exactly "an instrument with which trees are lopped" (Lane, s.v.). For *ba-'addīr*, "by a mighty one," read *ha-'addīr* ("the mighty"; cf. Ezek. 17.23, *'erez 'addīr*, "a goodly cedar"); or simply *'addīr*, transposed before "Lebanon"; in Is. 60.13 *kᵉbhōdh Lᵉbhānōn*, literally, "the glory of Lebanon," means "cedar."

SUMMARY

Amount of Parallelism in the Oracles of Isaiah 1–10

Chapter	Total number of "periods"	Clear parallelism		With traces of parallelism[2]	Non-parallelistic		
		No.	Percentage of whole		Formulas	At end of stanzas	Others
1.	95	83	87%	8	2(3)	1(?)	1
2.	71	63	88%	5	....	....	3
3.	· 81	67	83%	10	3	....	1
4.	24	18	75%	4	....	....	2
5.	101	87	86%	12	1	....	2
6.9b-10, 11c-13[1]	17	11	64%	6	....	....	....
7.4b-9, 18-25[1]	40	22	55%	16	1	....	1
8.6–10, 12–15, 21-23[1]	45	30	66%	15	....	....	....
9.	74	71	98%	2	....	1	1
10.	99	78	78%	17	....	1	3
Totals	647	530	82%	95[3]	7	3	14

[1] 6.1–9a, 11a, are narrative and autobiographical; 7.1–3, 10–17; and 8.1–5, 11, 16–20 are partly narrative, partly personal, and partly deal with names and "signs." Though containing a considerable amount of parallelism, they have not been included in this table.

[2] A list of the verses in which parallelism is not clear, as well as those in which it does not exist, follows.

[3] = 14%.

List of Passages in Isaiah 1–10[1] not in Clear Parallelism

Chapter	With traces of parallelism	Formulas	End of stanza	Others
1.	[2c?]; 5b; 9a; 12a, b, e; 13c, d; 15c; [24?]	[2c?]; 24	20b	18a (introd. words of exhortation)
2.	5; 6a; 9c; 18; [20d?]			[20d]; 22a, b, c (not in Septuagint)
3.	1a, b; 3c; 6a; 8c, d; 9e; 10a; 11a; 14b; 18a	7a; 15c; 16a		6c (contains words repeated in 7c)
4.	2c; 3d; 5c; 6a			1a; 3c
5.	1a, b, c, d; 12; 14c; 25c, d; 26c; 30a, b, c, d	9a		5a; 6d
6.	9h; 13a, b, c, d, e			
7.	4c; 5a, b; 21; 22; 23–25	7a		8c (interrupts perfect parallelism)
8.	6c; 7c; [8d?]; [10c?]; 21–23		[10c]	
9.	3d; 8c		6k	4d; 5c (repeats words from 6a and 3b)
10.	8; 10; 18a; 21; 22a, b; 22c, d; 24b, c; 25; 27c	24a	23	24f (repeated in verse 27)

[1] See note to previous table for passages not included.

In the preceding tables under ''clear parallelism'' are included those stichoi which are generally called ''synonymous.'' But it must be noted that in parallelism this term is applied to series of words other than those cited in the dictionaries as synonyms or antonyms; there are not many stichoi, as a matter of fact, in which the corresponding words are exact synonyms, as they are, for instance, in 2.17, where *gabhūth* and *rūm* each means literally ''height,'' *'ādhām* and *'aᵃnāshīm* mean respectively ''mankind'' and ''men,'' and *shaχ* and *shāphēl*, ''prostrate oneself'' and ''be low'' or ''prostrate.'' More often the terms are synonyms only by synecdoche or some other variety of metonomy, as in 1.29, where ''oaks'' is used as a synonym of ''gardens'' or ''groves.'' Perhaps, then, a broader term than ''synonyms'' should be used, such as ''complements,'' denoting terms which as they are used by the author are seen to belong to some one logical category. Such complements Isaiah is fond of heaping up; e.g., in 1.11–14, terms referring to ritual service (offerings and sacrifices of various kinds, oblations, incense, festivals and feasts); 2.7–8, to riches (silver, gold, horses, chariots); 3.18–23, to dress (21 items); 2.13, to height as a symbol of pride (mountains, hills, cedars, oaks, towers, walls, ships); 3.2, to public life (mighty men, warriors, judges, prophets, necromancers); 3.5, 6, to mutual human relationship (man, neighbor, youth, aged, lowly, honorable, brother, father); 7.19, to landscape (valleys, caves, bushes, meadows); 1.6, to treatment of wounds (pressed, bound, softened); 1.7, to destruction (wasted, burnt, eaten); 1.11 to aversion (satiated, displeased, abominate, not tolerate, hate, find burdensome, wearied); 5.2, to viticulture (clear and fence land, plant, build watch-towers, hew vats); and to many other vague synthetic ideas implied in the use of such regularly associated complements as heaven and earth; sea and land; light and darkness; hear and speak; command and obey. Sometimes, however, the complementary nature of the terms is not due to regular association but rather to the special, often metaphorical, use in the stichoi in question: e.g., ''flint'' and ''whirlwind'' to connote hardness and swiftness as the attributes respectively of horses' hoofs and chariot wheels advancing for an invasion. In all these

cases it is quite evident that the lists of terms used by the Prophet might be either enlarged or diminished without effecting his main purpose; compare 1.26 with 3.2, two passages referring to officials; the fact that the former mentions only judges and counsellors whereas the latter mentions many other classes does not imply that the Prophet is predicting the existence of a state in which there shall be only those two classes of officials; but as in all such cases, each stichos mentioning one species of the genus implies the whole genus. And so the term ''complementary'' can be applied to thought units or periods as a whole, to two or more lines each of which expresses an equal part of some one complex idea. It will be seen, then, that lyric, prophetic, or didactic poetry must not be viewed as would be an historical or geological treatise; in the light of parallelism a list such as that in 3.18 is poetical and effective; as archaeology it might be interesting, but it is tedious and defective.

And here the rule should be enunciated that in a parallelistic setting, i.e., when surrounded by other couplets or strophes in evident parallelism, any two lines must also be read as parallelism if this is in any way possible; just as in the scansion of poetry a doubtful line must be scanned if possible in the light of the dominant metre. For example 5.25:

> Therefore is the anger of the Lord kindled against his people,
> And he hath stretched forth his hand against them and smitten them.

If this were simple narrative, it might be said that the fact detailed in the second line was subsequent to that described in the first. But Isaiah is not here concerned mainly with writing history or making a psychological analysis; the second line is not only a logical complement of the first, but by implication one is a repetition of the other: from the standpoint of prophetic philosophy God's anger implies of necessity punishment; or at least punishment implies his anger. So the couplet in Amos 5.8, discussed by Mr. Newman under synthetic parallelism, I should unhesitatingly classify as clear parallelism:

> He that calls for the waters of the sea,
> And pours them out upon the face of the earth.

This, again, is not intended primarily as a scientific description of the formation of rain; each line means simply: God controls by his word the phenomena of nature.

At the same time objection must be taken to the indiscriminate use of the term "synthetic parallelism" in reference to any two lines in couplet formation. Following the Isaiah passage last quoted is this couplet (5.25c, d):

> And the hills did tremble
> And their carcases were torn in the midst of the streets.

In a general way, it is true, each of these lines means that when God is angry, the whole world (nature and man) feels the effects, but the two stichoi first quoted speak specifically of God's anger against men; the last stichos still is limited to the same narrower objective. Moreover, it is difficult to group the subjects "hills" and "carcasses," and the predicates "tremble" and "torn," respectively under any one category. On the other hand, "hills" and "streets" are or may be parallels; and, in the light of the evident awkwardness of style (with the pronoun in the fourth line referring back to the second in absolute disregard of the third), and of the comparative shortness of the third line, I have classified the couplet as one with "traces of parallelism."

Another possible area of doubt is presented by incomplete propositions or clauses as elements in parallelism. Cases in which the incompleteness is merely rhetorical need not be considered here; i.e., those in which an incomplete phrase or clause is in apposition with some part of a complete sentence, and hence assumes from it the missing syntactic elements, as 1.8, where "as a lodge in the cucumber-garden" is parallel to "the daughter of Zion is left as a cottage in the vineyard"; or 1.6, where the series of detached nouns "wounds, and bruises, and purifying sores" is in apposition with "all the head is sick" and with the following series of verbs, "not pressed, not bound, not softened with ointment," or may be considered in itself as a series of three parallel terms; or again 9.20, 21, where "Manasseh, Ephraim, and Ephraim, Manasseh, and together they against ['al] Judah" are parallel clauses deriving their syntactic construction from the previous sentences, "each shall

eat the flesh of his own arm,'' or ''of his neighbor,'' and ''he shall eat on ['al] the right hand.''

A second variety of incomplete parallelism is seen when to a couplet syntactically complete is added another parallelistic couplet expressing a non-essential qualifier, e.g., 2.10: ''Enter into the rock, and hide thee in the dust,'' to which is added, ''for fear of the Lord, and for the glory of his majesty''; here again the parallelism is clear; but in verses 20 and 21 a third prepositional phrase is added: ''when he rises to shake terribly the earth'' (Heb. ''at his rising to terrify the earth''). Here ''fear'' and ''terrify'' are associated terms, though used in varying syntactic construction; and it is quite evident that ''for fear of the Lord'' might be omitted, without altering the sense in any way: ''Hide thee in the dust when the Lord rises to terrify the earth'' implies the fear. However, I have reckoned the additional phrase as one showing merely traces of parallelism, in order that I might not be charged with exaggerating the number of cases of clear parallelism. It should be remarked, moreover, that even if there were no stichic parallelism here, there would still be strophic parallelism, since the whole refrain is repeated in the same form.

A greater variation from the simple type of parallelism arises in what I have called ''suspensive'' parallelism, seen in quatrains in which neither set of parallel stichoi is syntactically complete without the other: e.g., 4.5; 9.5 (Eng.). Still, these seem to me undoubtedly parallelistic in principle. But it is possible that in the use of this form there lies the beginning of non-parallelistic formations in Hebrew poetry, for it accustoms the mind to the use of incomplete stichoi as units of poetic structure. An intermediate step between the suspensive parallelism and non-parallelism is perhaps to be seen in a couple of examples in which, while the first part of a proposition is repeated in a parallelistic couplet, only a single stichos is added to complete the meaning; e.g., 4.3:

> He who is left in Zion
> And he that remaineth in Jerusalem
>> Shall holy be called.

Or 9.4 (Eng.), with tristich instead of couplet:

> The yoke of his burden,
> And the staff of his shoulder,
> The rod of his oppressor,
>   Hast thou broken in the day of Midian.

It would be possible to regard these two instances as being the reverse of the species of appositional parallelism exemplified in 1.26cd and 1.8 (quoted above) respectively, i.e., with a long second line, the first being in anticipatory apposition with part thereof:

> He who is left in Zion
> And he that remaineth in Jerusalem shall holy be called;

> The staff of his shoulder,
> The rod of his oppressor hast thou broken as in the day of Midian.

But in these two instances I believe that the text is faulty; at any rate I have classified the odd stichoi as doubtful.

In all of the cases of the use of incomplete clauses or phrases discussed thus far (excepting the last phrase in 2.19), syntactic parallelism was present.   But there are also cases in which apparently clauses of different syntactic construction may be parallel:

Relative clauses.—In these the relative is the double relative (''he who,'' or ''that which''), and the clause is not restrictive or essential, but is an appositional modifier.   In 5.28, ''whose arrows are sharp and all whose bows are bent,'' are two such clauses in parallelism with each other; nevertheless they establish the use of the relative in parallelism.   But in 2.8, 2.20, are relative clauses in apposition to nouns (see there, and the discussion on ·1.21); and in 9.2 *ka-'asher* (lit. ''like what,'' i.e., ''as'') before a finite verb, ''they rejoice,'' is parallel to the simple preposition k^e, ''like,'' before a noun, ''the joy.''   Other relatives appear in 2.22, 5.5, 8.20, 8.23 [9.1], all in doubtful passages.

Circumstantial clauses.—These contain verbs in the imperfect, the English generally translating as independent sentences. Examples are: 8.8, ''Reaching (imperf.) even to the neck,'' parallel to ''it shall overflow and go over''; 9.18, ''devouring the

briers and thorns,'' parallel to ''burneth as a fire''; 9.19, ''each
eating the flesh of his own arm,'' parallel to ''he ate upon the
left''; 5.6, ''not being pruned'' parallel to ''I shall make it a
waste'' (see also the note on 1.5). In 3.16 the circumstantial
imperfect, ''walking and mincing as they go'' is in parallelism
with the participle, ''ogling with their eyes,'' and both are in
parallelism to ''they are haughty.'' Sometimes the circumstan-
tial imperfect is difficult to distinguish from the relative clause
with relative omitted (see again on 1.21); thus 10.24: ''smiting
thee with the rod'' or ''who smites thee with the rod,'' referring
to ''the Assyrian''; here, however, there are two such imperfect
clauses, so that parallelism does not depend upon this interpre-
tation.

The use of all of these clauses in parallelism still rests upon
the principle of apposition; but there is another series of de-
pendent clauses of various kinds, introduced by subordinating
conjunctions, and which nevertheless may be in parallelism to
their own main clauses; though this involves apparently consid-
erable departure from the simple type of synonymous parallelism
and may be a subject for divergence of opinion. It is again to
be insisted upon, that where such clauses occur in the midst of
parallelism, the investigator must seek for reasons to include
them as such, and not allow his own definitions and prejudg-
ments to deny their parallelism.

Conditional clauses.—It is evident of course, that not every
protasis and apodosis can be regarded as parallelistic; but the
moment that they contain synonyms or complements, the possi-
bility that the author intended them as such is present; e.g., 1.18:

> If your sins are red as scarlet,
> They shall be white as snow.

It must be remembered, moreover, that in Hebrew syntax
dependent and independent constructions interchange freely,
that protasis and apodosis even in prose may be expressed as
parallel clauses; e.g., Num. 14.15, ''if thou shalt kill all this
people, the nations will say'' is literally: ''And thou shalt kill
all this people and the nations will say.'' Compare also with
this the parallelistic construction in Is. 5.7: ''What was there

still to do to my vineyard, and did I not do,'' which is the equivalent of ''if [or when] there was anything to do to my vineyard, did I not do it?'' or, as the English actually translates, ''what was there that I did not do?'' A closer examination of Is. 1.18 shows as a matter of fact that the condition is merely a rhetorical one; the thought is: ''Your sins are now as scarlet; they shall [or must] be white as snow.'' Another example is contained in 7.9:

> If ye are not firm (*he'ᵉmīnū*)
> Ye shall not be confirmed (*tē'āmēnū*).

Here, perhaps, a real condition is involved; nevertheless the intention of parallelism seems certain because of the repetition of the root *'āman;* and the same intention would seem to be evidenced by the unusual insertion of *kī* before the apodosis, as a formal parallel to *'im* in the protasis. Again in 10.22 the conditional sentence is merely rhetorical; the thought really is this: Thy people are now as the sand of the sea; they shall be but a remnant. In the table this sentence has been counted as showing traces of parallelism.

Temporal clauses.—An example is found in 10.12, ''When the Lord,'' etc., which means:

> The Lord will perform his work on Mount Zion (i.e., punish it),
> And (then) he will punish the pride of Assyria.

How small the difference is between the two types of construction is exemplified by 5.4, where the Hebrew is literally:

> Why did I hope it would bring forth grapes,
> And did it bring forth wild grapes?

while the English translates: ''Why, when I looked that it should bring forth grapes, brought it forth wild grapes?'' With this compare in verse 7: ''He looked for judgment, but behold, oppression,'' which is the equivalent of ''when he looked for judgment, he beheld oppression.''

Final clauses.—Final clauses introduced by *lᵉ-ma'an* occur in 5.19; but there are two of them, parallel to each other. Final infinitives introduced by *lᵉ* occur similarly as a pair in 9.6 [7]: ''to order it, and to establish it''; a single such infinitive is found in 2.20 (*lᵉ-hishtaχᵃwōth*), but the passage is not clear; imperfects

with w^e are found in 2.3d, but again in parallelism to each other. Perhaps 7.13 also contains a final clause:

> Is it too little for you to weary men,
> That ye would weary also my God?

with which compare the coördinate clauses in Num. 9.10:

> Is it too little a thing to eat up the good pasture,
> And will ye tread down the rest of the pasture with your feet?

Causal clauses.—Introduced by *kī*, causal clauses occur frequently, but generally in pairs, so that the parallelism can not be doubted; in 8.6 and 7, however, occurs a parallelism of cause and effect:

> Because this people refuseth the waters of Shiloh,
> Therefore the Lord will bring upon them the waters of The River;

here the parallelism suggested by the repetition of the word "waters" is strengthened by the correlatives "because" and "therefore."

Comparative clauses.—The parallelism between the two members of a comparison is self-evident; every simile is in its essence a form of parallelism, particularly where the correspondence between the objects is complete in all respects. The Hebrew shows this by its use of correlative prepositions, e.g., "like the priest (is) like the people"; or of correlative conjunctions, e.g., 10.11:

> As I have done to Samaria and her idols
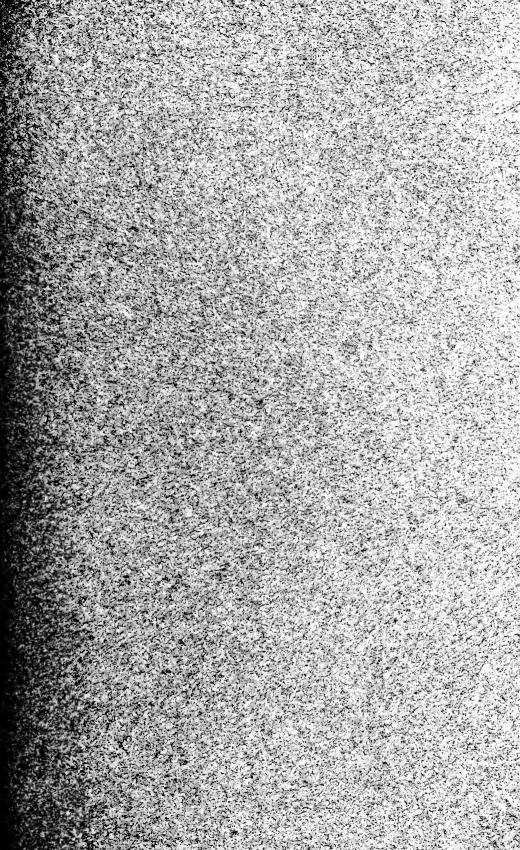> So shall I do to Jerusalem and her idols.

Finally, there is the possibility that certain clauses of nearer definition, added to verbs which are complete in sense when used without such clauses, are intended as parallels to those verbs; the examples are confined to chapter 5, verses 1, 5, 6 (q.v.); these have not been reckoned as parallels, however, in the tables.

On the whole it may be said that the presumption is very strong of an original intention of regularity in structure throughout the oracular portion of these ten chapters. More than eighty per cent of the subject matter is in parallelism as it stands. An additional fourteen per cent shows clear traces of parallelism; in most of these cases there is evidence of textual corruption irrespective of the question of parallelism, and the defects are

removed when parallelism is restored; in the remainder of this fourteen per cent there is the possibility of regarding the text as parallelistic in its present form, dependent upon the acceptance of the parallelism of subordinate clauses as explained above. Of the residual six per cent some sentences are introductory and final clauses of announcement, and phrases of a conventional type standing at the end of oracles, in which the absence of parallelism does not effect the question of the contents of the oracle itself; in the case of other isolated stichoi, within the oracle, their glossatory nature is shown by the presence of words repeated weakly from near-by couplets, or by the evidently intrusive nature of the subject matter. The number of cases in which regularity of structure does not exist but in which the sense is nevertheless clear is very small, indeed; the possibility of a stichos having fallen out in the course of centuries of tradition is so great that this may well be assumed to have taken place.

It should again be noted that the above tables and remarks do not apply to those passages which are narrative or autobiographical; nor should their implications be extended to any section of prophetic literature in which non-parallelism and parallelism are intermingled in considerably larger proportions than in Isaiah 1–10. But the analogy of other literatures that mingle prose and verse is not in point here; to find a proper analogy to account for the psychology of our text in its present form one should have to offer examples of poetry marred by a few isolated and unaccountable splashes of prose; or of poems of perhaps one hundred lines, eighty-five of which are in perfect metre, while the remainder are hopelessly unmetrical, with no assignable reason for their lack of symmetry. No explanation of difficult passages in the oracular portions of Isaiah 1–10 should be accepted unless it is based upon parallelism; or, at least, no emendation of the text should be accepted which does not restore parallelism.